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OF THE

Propagation of Christianity,

AND

Overthrow of Paganism.

CHAP. V.

Of the Vanity and Folly of Paganism: Where the Reasonings of the Primitive Fathers against it, and the Accusations of the Gentiles against the Christians, with their Answers, are explained.

E have, in the former chapter, seen the ruin of Paganism over the world, and particularly in the Roman empire, the clear sun-shine of the Gospel dispelling the thick darkness of heathenish idolatry, Satan as lightning falling from heaven: "The idols "utterly abolished, gone into the holes of the rocks, and into the caves of the earth, for sear of the Lord, and the glory of his majesty; men casting their idols of silver and gold, which they made each one for himself to worship, to the moles and to the batts, to go into the cless of the rocks, and into the tops of the ragged rocks, for fear of the Lord, and the Vol. II.

" glory of his majesty, when he ariseth to shake terri-" bly the earth *." Having feen the victory gained, we might fing a triumph; " Confounded be all they " who ferve graven images, that boast themselves of " idols—Zion heard and was glad, the daughters of " Judab rejoiced, because of thy judgments, O Lord †." In the primitive perfecutions, Christians overcame by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of their testimony, and loved not their lives unto the death ||. But now the kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ, and he shall reign for ever and ever ‡. To be fure, 'tis an invaluable mercy, that, by the knowledge of our Saviour, God has opened the eyes of the blind, has turned us from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God, that we may receive the remission of fins, and inheritance among them which are fanctified **. It is very remarkable, that whatever corruptions in doctrine, worship and government, whatever divisions, confufions and diforders have defiled the Christian Church, yet it never return'd again to the state of heathenism.

What I have formerly advanced, in confirming the truth of the Christian Religion, in discovering the infusion, and in displaying the state of idolatry over the heation, and in displaying the state of idolatry over the heathen world, before the coming of Christ; and of the propagating of Christianity, and ruin of Paganism in the four first centuries; may shorten my work in this chapter. But that I may set before my reader the wickedness of Paganism, and give a little view of the arguments by which Christians defended themselves, and wounded the cause of the Gentiles, to such as are not well acquainted with the writings of the ancients; and to contribute my mite, that libertines, in this degenerate age, may not return us to a state of insidelity, from which we are, in the mercy of God, happily de-

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^{*} Isaiah 2. 18-21. + Psalm 97. 7,8. || Revel 13. 11. + Revel 11. 15. ** Acts 26. 18.

That fince there is but one God, the author of all things, the polytheism of the Gentiles is plainly abominable: if they fay there are divers co-eternal and co-equal Gods, the opinion is inconfiftent. For if there be more Gods than one, they must be either equal in power, or one must depend upon another; if equal, that equality makes, that one must depend upon another, and so each cannot be God, otherwise the independency would be only in name, for one cannot act without confent of another: if dependent, each cannot be God; for, who can limit an independent Being? Plurality of Gods can never agree with immensity: If we suppose more Gods than one, each must have his own province, which ruins immensity: nor with infinite perfection; for if one have perfections which are not in another, neither will be infinitely perfect: Every thing that is multiplied is imperfect. Unity, when not fufficient, makes many necessary; but when one is infinitely perfect and allfufficient, no more of that kind can be conceived. If they maintain the old opinion of the Persians, the one God good, and the other evil, this is equally inconfiftent; for these two acting one against another, the one being the author of all evil, the other of good, may tend to destruction, but can never govern the world in a beautiful order. Beside, evil is but a defect of the rectitude which ought to be in the creature, and has, of itself, no positive existence. If, by the name of Gods, they understand created spirits superior to men, then they either mean good or bad spirits; if the first, they ought to be well affured fuch are indeed good spirits, otherwise they commit the most dangerous error, in receiving enemies instead of friends, traitors and run-aways instead of ambassadors: good angels will never receive religious worship at their hand, 'tis the highest contempt of the supreme Being, to give that honour that's due to him to any creature. It is therefore the only fafe course to betake themselves to the worship of one Almighty God, the Creator of heaven and earth; fince to whom God is favourable, these good angels

must of necessity be serviceable, being the servants of

the most high God.

But it was not the good, but the evil spirits the pagans worshipped, as may be demonstrated by weighty reasons. First, These angels did not lead their worshippers to the service of the true God, but, as far as they were able, labour'd to abolish the same *; which good angels his fervants would never do, nor equal the honour they required with that due to the Almighty; it being their whole care to encourage men to honour and ferve the only true God, who made heaven and earth. Secondly, The deities the Gentiles worshipped procured all the mischief they could to the worshippers of the true God, by provoking both magistrates and people to persecute and punish them: For, while it was allow'd to the poets to fing of the murders and adulteries committed by the Gods, and to Epicureans to take away divine Providence; while any other religion, tho' ever so absurd, ever so different in rites, as the Egyptian, Phrygian, Grecian, Thuscan, were all facred, and allow'd at Rome; yet there the Jews were exposed to ridicule, call'd Curti, Recutiti, worshippers of the clouds, of the fun, &c.+, and sometimes banish'd | and exposed to many calamities: And as to the Christians, they were haraffed with the most bloody perfecutions that were ever heard of, as already in the third chapter of this treatife. No other reason can be given of this conduct, than that both these sects did worship one God, whose honour was impeach'd by the multitude of fuch Gods as the heathens adored, who did not fo much vie with one another as with him. Thirdly, This appears from the manner of their worship, which did no way become good and pure spirits, as by facrificing men unto demons, by the running of naked men in their temples in the prophane feasts call'd Lupercalia. Indeed, the well-attested accounts we have given of their inhuman bloody facrifices to Moloch and Saturn, their

^{*} Vide Augustinum de Civitate Dei, Lib. 10. Cap. 16, 19. 4 Vide supra Vol. 1. Cap. 1, 2.

Suetonius in Tiberio, Cap. 36.

their abominable obscenities in the service of Baalberith, Cybele, Venus, Succothbenoth, and other detestable practices explain'd in the second chapter of this Essay, which need not be here repeated, are fufficient to make any man to abhor that religion that authorized fuch abominations, and to value the great mercy of our God, who has deliver'd us from it. Such iniquity is to this day practis'd among the barbarous people of Africa and America, in their most solemn acts of devotion to their heathen idols. Fourthly, And which is more, there both anciently were, and now are, abundance of Pagans, who openly worship evil spirits; as the Persians adored Arimanius the author of evil, the Greeks their Cacodæmons, the Latins their Vejoves*, and now many of the Ethiopians and Indians. Than this nothing can be imagined more impious; for what is religious worship, but a testimony of infinite goodness, which we acknowledge to be in the object we adore? If this be exhibited to a false wicked spirit, 'tis evil and deceitful, implying no less crime than high treason; forafmuch as the honour due unto the king is not only withdrawn from him, but conferr'd upon the enemy, who has treacherously revolted from him. It is vain to pretend God is good, and will not punish the offence; for mercy has its bounds and limits that it may be just, and where wickedness abounds without measure, there justice does necessarily require punishment to be inflicted. Neither is it less blameable, that they pretend fear constrains them to honour wicked spirits, since God, who is absolutely good, has sovereign dominion over all his creatures, as his workmanship, so as nothing can be done by any of them, which he defires to hinder; and therefore, these evil spirits can do no further hurt to any man who has God favourable to him, than God for fome good purpose or other thinks fit to permit, nor can a man obtain any real good from them. The gifts of enemies are mere fnares.

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Some, both of the ancient and modern heathens, tell us, they give honour and worship to the souls of men

^{*} Cicero de Natura Deorum, Lib. 3. §. 62.

departed: But, First, They should have made some manifest distinction betwixt this honour, and that due to the most high God. Secondly, All the prayers made to these souls departed are vain and fruitless, unless these spirits could afford us some real good, which those worshippers can have no ground to expect; yea, we may be fure they cannot know our necessities, for they are not omniscient, but ignorant of things done at such distance, nor are they almighty to grant our defires. Thirdly, Which is a further discovery of the folly of the Pagans, many of those, to whom this glory was given, were notoriously wicked persons, addicted to some filthy vice or other; Bacchus a drunkard, Hercules effeminate, Romulus a villain who kill'd his brother, Jupiter with infamous tyranny expell'd his father out of heaven: So that their honour redounds to God's dishonour, and to the reproach of true piety and virtue, which he loves and recommends; yea, to honour fuch monsters commends the practice of wickedness and vice to men, as if it were not alluring enough of itself, till it be countenanced by the example of fuch patrons. Fourthly, Is it not the alone fure way to worship only the one glorious God, Creator of the universe, who we are sure is omniscient to know all our thoughts, wants and defires; yea, gracious and almighty to grant all that is truly good for us?

Of more antiquity among the heathen is the worship of stars and elements, as fire, water, air and earth; wherein great ignorance and folly was committed, for prayers are the greatest act of religious worship, which cannot, without folly, be directed to any but intelligent natures: But sense tells us, the elements are no such things; and as for the stars, if any say they are intelligent or rational, he will never be able to prove it, since nothing of it can be gathered from their operations and influences; yea, we may prove the contrary by their motion, which is not variable, like things endow'd with liberty of will, but constant and unalterable. Beside, these stars are for the use of man: He does therefore injury to his own dignity, to submit him-

The Vanity of Paganifm.

felf to fuch things as God has made for his fervice; he ought rather to render thanks to God for them, that cannot do it for themselves.

But nothing can be more unworthy of man than the idolatry of the Egyptians, who became so sottish as to worship brute beasts, who have no understanding, no rational fouls, can neither express conceptions by distinct words nor writing. Man catches all forts of beafts, makes them subject to his laws; yea, from them that are more hurtful, draws some profit, as medicine from ferpents, and this in a manner utterly unknown to any of them: If man confiders matters, and weighs things in a due ballance, he'll be so far from looking on other animals as gods, that he'll rather look on himself as constituted by the most high God, as a lord and ruler

over them.

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We find also the Greeks and Romans worshipped these things which have no subsistence, but are mere accidents. We read in Cicero*, that they had temples to Contumely and Impudence, an old altar to the Fever, and a temple to Licence +. To omit these uncouth deities, they adored accidents of the better fort, as Health, which is nothing but a right temperature of the parts of the body; Good Fortune, when the event answers man's defire; the Affections, as Love, Fear, Anger, Hope, and the rest, which proceed from the consideration of something good or evil, eafy or difficult, and are motions of the mind united to the body, and influenced by the blood, which have no power of themselves, but are handmaids to the commands of the will. They worshipped also the Virtues, as Prudence, in chusing what is profitable to us; Fortitude, in undertaking dangers; Justice, in abstaining from what is another man's; and Temperance, in moderation of pleasures. These are only certain inclinations and propensions in the mind unto that which is right, grown up by long exercises and practice, which, as they may be augmented, fo they may by neglect be diminished, if not abolished. B 4

^{*} De Legibus, Lib. 2. Operum pag. m. 1297. + Ibid. pag. 1299.

As for *Honour*, to which they erected temples, it is other men's judgment or good opinion concerning one, whom they supposed endowed with virtue, or some superior qualities, which is oft bestowed on bad men as well as good, by the natural proneness that is in men to err in judgment. These things then having no subsistence, are not to be compared in dignity and worth, with things that do subsist; and since they have no understanding of men's prayers, or of any veneration paid to them, it is most absurd to worship them as Gods. We ought only to worship God, who can give and preserve every virtue, and every excellency to us. Cicero himself derides this worship of accidents, when he says *,

"These things need not be refuted by subtile arguments; the Mind, Faith, Hope, Virtue, Honour, Victory, Health,

" Concord, and the rest of that kind, are in the nature of things, not of gods——And especially Fortune,

" which cannot be separate from Inconstancy and Rash-

" ness, which are unworthy of God,"

The Pagans, to recommend their religion, do pretend miracles, but fuch as may be justly excepted against; the wisest of the heathens rejected them, as supported by no testimony of any credible witness, but plainly counterfeit and fabulous. Other miracles which they faid were done, happen'd in some secret place, or in the night-time, before one or two, whose eyes the eraft of the cunning priest might easily delude by false appearances, of which the learned Vandale gives many documents †. Others that raised great admiration, and pass'd for wonders, merely because they met with men who were ignorant of natural things, and of their hidden properties; as for example, if one should draw iron with a loadstone, this might pass for a miracle among people who knew nothing of its virtue: In these arts, Simon Magus and Apollonius Tyanæus were very skilful. I don't deny, but that some things greater than these were done, which by man's power alone could not be drawn out of natural causes; yet did not depend

^{*} De Natura Deorum, Lib. 3. §. 61. † De Oraculis Ethnicorum.

depend on a power truly divine or omnipotent, but might be performed by spirits or demons, who by their swiftness, efficacy, subtility and diligence, can eafily carry things far distant from one place to another, and compound things very different, to the producing of fuch effects, as strike man with astonishment: But the spirits who did this were not good, and therefore their Religion was not good, as appears from what is already faid. Good spirits would never persuade to worship any but the true God. Their wickedness also appears in this, that they compelled men to do things even against their wills, by the power of certain charms, when the wifest of Pagans agree there can be no such virtue in words, only a power of perfuasion, and that no other way than by their fignification, 'Tis another fign of their vile delufion, that they undertook to allure people, tho' ever fo backward, to love this or the other body, and performed a thousand magick charms of that kind, forbidden even by the imperial laws; as we have heard in the former chapter, as an abominable piece of forcery. We need not wonder, that God fuffered fome lying miracles to be wrought by evil spirits among the Gentiles, since they deserved to be cheated, who so long time had forsaken the worship of the true God. This is also an argument of their weakness and impotency, that their works never produced any confiderable good; for, if any feemed to be called back to life after they were dead, they did not continue alive, neither could they exercise the functions of living creatures; or if it hapened, that any thing proceeding from a divine power appeared to the heathen, yet the fame was not foretold to come to pass for the confirmation of their Religion; and therefore, there might be other causes and different reasons which the divine efficacy propounded in doing these things. As for example, granting that Vespasian restored fight to one that was blind, it was, that he being for this counted more venerable, might more eafily obtain the Roman empire, to which he was chosen of God, that he might be a minister of his judgment upon the Jews. The.

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The like causes may be given of other wonders, which can never recommend the heathenish super-stition.

The fame answer may serve to what the pagans object concerning their oracles, that they deferve to be given up to delusions, for contempt of that knowledge which reason or ancient tradition suggested to every one of them *. The words of their oracles were for most part ambiguous, and might receive an interpretation from any event what soever; as that to Crasus +, If Croesus go to fight against the Persians, he shall dissolve a great monarchy; which may be interpreted, either be shall lose that of his own, or he shall gain that of his enemies. Thus was the oracle to Pyrrbus very deceitful, Aio te, Æacida, Romanos vincere posse; which may fignify, either Pyrrhus shall overcome the Romans, or they shall overcome bim. If there was ever any thing foretold by these oracles that did certainly come to pass, yet it was either fuch as might be foreseen by natural causes then existing, as some physicians have foretold diseases aproaching in fuch an age, or elfe fome probable conjecture might be made by that which commonly falls out. Thus some persons skilled in civil affairs, have made notable gueffes at future events. Tho' we fuppose, that, among the Gentiles, God did sometimes use the ministry of some prophets, to foretel things, which could have no certain cause beside the will of God; yet this did not confirm the heathen superstition, but rather overthrow it: as feveral expressions in Virgil's fourth Ecloque, taken out of the Sybilline verses, where the poet unwittingly gives us a hint of the coming of Christ, and his benefits, as some of the ancients understood it | ; tho' I conceive, the plain defign of the poet in that pastoral is, that the consul Pollio having his fon Saloninus born in the fourth year of Augustus, Virgil, in giving thanks for his birth, flatters the conful, his fon, and the emperor Augustus, promiting,

^{*} Vide Grotium de Veritate Religionis, Lib. 4. § 9.

[†] Herodot. Lib. 1. Cap. 53.

|| Constantini Magni sermo ad fanctorum cœtum. Augustin de Civ. Dei.

promising, the Golden Age, Justice, and a new race of men shall return to the earth; and all those good things prophesied of by the Cumaan Sybil*. We read in Justin Martyr +, that the Oracle told, That the Chaldeans and Jews are the only wife people, who worship the selfexistent God and King with a pure mind. If the heathens hearken to this Oracle, they'll abandon the worship of Jupiter, Apollo, and the rest of their false deities: or if they do not believe it, they make their God a lyar. After all, if those spirits they worshipped had intended the good of mankind above all things, they would have prescribed a safe and clear rule of life to men, and given some certain assurance of a reward to those that lived according to it: neither of which was done by them, but on the contrary, their best authors extol men for murdering themselves, as Cato, Brutus ||, and others, or for the like abominable vices **, as we have more fully proved in some former parts of this essay. Those who desire to be further informed how fraudulent and deceitful the heathen oracles were, may read the whole fifth book of Eusebius's Evangelick Preparations. False as they were, they were put to filence upon our Redeemer's appearing in the world, as has been formerly illustrated ++.

Beside what has been hitherto said, Paganism ministers to us a mighty argument against itself; for whensoever it became destitute of human force to support it, then it came streight to ruin, as if the soundations thereof were quite overthrown. If we take a view of all the kingdoms and states among Christians and Mahometans, we shall find no memory of Paganism but in books. The history of the church informs us, that when the Roman Emperors endeavoured to uphold it, either by violence or persecution, as they did for 300

^{*} Spanheim, Hist. Christianæ, Col. 596.

⁺ Mapaireois ad Gracos, Operum Pag. 12.

Μενοι Χαλθαιοι σοφίην λαχον, ηθι ας Εδεσίοι, Αυτοχενητον ανακτα σεβαζομενοι θεον αγγας

^{||} Plutarch's Lives, Cato and Brutus. ** Supra Vol. 1. Cap. 1.

⁺⁺ Supra Vol. 1. Cap. 3.

years, or by learning and fubtilty, as Julian; yet it decayed and dwindled into nothing, not by any violent opposition, nor by brightness and splendor of lineage and descent, for Jesus was commonly esteemed as a Carpenter's fon; nor by flourishes of learning, which they that taught the law of Christ used not in their fermons; nor by gifts and bribes, for they were poor; nor by any foothing or flattering speeches: on the contrary, they taught all worldly advantages were to be despised, and all adversity undergone for the sake of the Gospel. Paganism must be very weak and impotent, that by fuch means was brought to ruin, and Christianity very powerful: indeed this power is not of itself, but from the efficacy of almighty God, accompanying the Gospel, to the conversion of a sinful world. This made wicked spirits come out of posfessed persons at the name of Christ, as has already been made evident *. Tertullian tells Scapula, a pagan Præfect in Africa, That the Christians ejected, difgraced, and expelled Demons every day, as many could bear witness +.

The Gentiles have little to object against the Christian Religion, fince all the parts thereof are of fuch honesty and integrity, as to convince the minds of men by their own light, fo far as there has not been wanting among the heathen, who here and there have faid many of those things which our Religion has in a body altogether. To give a few instances: True Religion confifts not in rites and ceremonies, but in fincere spiritual fervice. This is owned by Cato, when he fays, Since God is a Spirit, he is to be worshipped by us with a pure mind ||. Cicero fays, The most excellent worship of the Gods is most chaste, boly, and full of piety, that we always adore them with a pure incorrupt mind and voice ‡. In another place he fays, The law commands us to go to God with purity and chastity, that is, of the mind, in which every thing is included; neither does this take away

* Supra, Vol. 1. Cap. 3.

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⁺ Ad Scapulam, Cap. 2 Operum, Pag. 91, | Disticho primo. De Natura Deorum, Lib. 2. §. 71. Operum, Pag. 1224.

the purity of the body, but the mind is more excellent than the body *. 'Tis a principle of our Religon, that we ought not to revenge injuries, and this is frequently taught by Seneca, Cicero, Epictetus, and other heathen moralists; their lessons concerning contentment and submission are so full, as they need not be here repeated. Our Religion teaches us, not to look on a woman to lust after her; Seneca teaches the same +, He is an adulterer who has even a design or desire to commit adultery. Valerius Maximus fays ||, That the league of marriage was chaftly observed among the Romans of old, and that there was no divorce betwixt husband and wife, 'till five bundred and twenty years after the city was built. If there be some points of Christianity hard to be believed, the like is to be found among the heathens, or much worse. Julian the apostate emperor thought the divine nature might be joined to the human, and gives an instance in Æsculapius, whom he conceived descended from Heaven to teach men phyfick t. The Cross of Christ offends many; yet Plata a heathen philosopher, in the second book of his Commonwealth fays, For a man to appear truly great and upright, 'tis requisite his virtue be bereaved of outward ornaments; that he be by others counted a wicked wretch. scoffed at, and at last banged. We have many testimonies of the heathens, owning the necessary existence of God, and of divine Providence, and other points of natural Religion, in the first chapter and other parts of this Estay, which I shall not now repeat.

But shall offer some sew Reasonings of the primitive writers in the christian church against the Gentiles. I can give but a small taste on such a large subject, to shew by what methods they persuaded the heathen world to renounce their idolatry and irreligion, and to be subject to the kingdom of Christ. Athenagoras, a christian

^{*} De Legibus, Lib. 2. §. 24. Operum, Pag. 1296.

⁺ Seneca. Pater. Incesta est etiam sine stupro quæ cupit stuprum. Lib. 2. Cap. 1. Pag. m. 96.

[‡] Apud Cyrillum contra Julian. Lib. 6. Pag. 200,---

christian philosopher at Athens, who sourished about the year of our Lord 177, in his embaffy or apology for the Christiaus, to the emperors M. Aurelius, Antoninus, and L. Aurelius Commodus, &c. * fays, "Why " should you be displeased at our very name? The " bare name does not deserve your hatred; 'tis wic-" kedness deserves punishment. Your meekness and " bounty towards others ought to be commended; every city enjoys their dignity conformable to the 66 honour due to them; yea the whole world, by your or prudence, does posses profound peace: but we, who are called Christians, are not taken care of. Yea, " you allow us who commit no crimes, and, as shall appear in the progress of our discourse, who live " most piously and righteously toward God, and even toward your empire, to be toffed, haraffed, and " put to flight, without any law or reason +. If " we be convicted of any crime, leffer or greater, let " us be punished, but not for the bare name of a " Christian; for no Christian can be an ill man, unless he act contrary to his profession |.- We are accused, that we do not worship the same Gods as your cities, and offer them sacrifices; but consider, O emor perors t, that the maker and governour of this world " stands in no need of blood and sweet-smelling incense; he delights in himself, nothing is wanting in 66 him. This is the best facrifice, that we know how " great a God he is, who has stretched out the heavens above us, and fettled the earth on its centre; who has gathered the waters together, who has feparated co light from darkness, who adorns the heavens with " ftars, who makes the grafs to grow, who made man " and all creatures. Since we have fuch a God, who or preserves and governs all things with great wisdom, " let us lift up pure hands to him. What greater " hecatomb, or more magnificent facrifice than this " is needful?— He requires a facrifice without blood,

^{*} Πρεσβεία περί Χριείανων, Edition 1686, in Folio, ad calcem, Justini Martyris.

†. Ibid, Page. 2. | Ibid. Pag. 3, 4. ‡ Athenagoras. Pag. 13, 14.

Chap. 5. against Paganism. Athenagoras. " that we should offer rational and acceptable service " to God. As to what they demand of us, why we do not adore their statues, or present our supplications before them, honouring the same Gods with the rest " of the cities; there is no reason to accuse us of " impiety for this, fince these cities do not agree " about these Gods. The Athenians own Celeus and " Metaneira, as their deities; the Lacedemonians, Meor nelaus, to whom they offer facrifices, and keep " festival days; the Ilienses will not hear of his name, but count him as their enemy, and celebrate their " own Hector. The Chians adore Aristeus, taking him " for Jupiter and Apollo. The Thasians honour Theagenes, who committed murders at the Olympick "Games; and the Samians, Lysander, after all the " murders and mischiefs he had done, &c. Time " would fail me before I repeat them all. Since then "they do not agree about their deities themselves, " why do they reproach us for not consenting to them? And how ridiculous are the ceremonies of " the Egyptians? They mourn for the death of their "Gods, and worship them as alive; yea, give divine 66 honours to beafts: if these die, they shave their 66 heads, bury them within their temples, and all the " city goes into mourning. Shall we be counted "wicked, because we do not adore these? Then other cities of the Gentiles shall be wicked too; for they " do not all adore the fame deities. But tho' they " should agree, must we go to their statues, and or pray before them, when we know they are but " trash, and understand the distance that is betwixt "God and vile matter?—Shall we worship images that were but of yesterday made by men? If they be "Gods, why were they not from the beginning? Why are they of so late a date, as we know the men that " made them? Why did they stand in need of work-" men and art to give them a being? To be fure, "they are nothing but trash, stones, and matter, " dreffed up by curious art *." After he has difcoursed

^{*} Athenagoras ubi supra, Pag. 17.

coursed of the vile fabulous stories of the generations of Saturn, Jupiter, Titan, Rhea, Bacchus, and the rest, he fays, "Shall we approach these, or stretch out "humble hands to supplicate before them, whose geof neration is no better than the beafts of the field, " and their countenance filthy and deformed *?-Whatever names of deities these take, they are but " devils; and this may be known by their actions, for " fome of them teach men to cut off their privities, as the priests of Rhea; to cut and slash their own bodies, as the servants of Diana; yea, Diana Taurica " kills her own guests: To speak nothing of men who, by knives and knotted whips, torment their own bodies, nor of the different forts of Demons +. "But our God is perfectly good, and always does " good; we contrive nothing in Religion of our felves, " but explain those truths that are delivered by the " holy prophets ||."

Origen, the famous presbyter at Alexandria, who flourished about the year of our Lord 230, in his excellent book against Celsus, his adversary, having compared the Christian Religion with that of the Egyptians, where one might fee stately temples and groves, with fine porches and entries of great bulk and beauty, the wonders of the world, and within thefe, their religious mystical ceremonies were performed #: he anfwers, "Is not the God and Lord of the whole world, his divine prophecies, and the contempt of idolatry, things more magnificent? Is Chrift crucified to be " compared to the worship of brute beasts? Of an " ape, a cat, a goat, a dog, or a crocodile? Our "Redeemer fuffered for the benefit and falvation of " the world." When Celsus objects the great eloquence of the heathen Philosophers, Origen ** tells him, "The first preachers who planted Christian Churches, " their fermons had a mighty force of perfuafion above " those who taught the philosophy of Plato, or of any

^{*} Ibid. Pag. 20. + Ibid. Pag. 29. || Ibid. Pag. 27. + Contra Celsum, Lib. 3. Pag. 120. ** Ibid. Pag. 152.

Chap. 5. against Paganism. Cyprian.

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other man endowed only with the power of human nature: but the persuasion of the Apostles of Jesus Christ was given of God, perfuading men to believe by the efficacy and power of the spirit; and therefore co quickly and fwiftly did their word run thro' the " world, or rather the word of God, by their miof niftry, converting many finners from the evil of their ways, whom no man could have changed by whatever punishments, but the word converted them ac-" cording to the will of God." Tho' Celsus says, 'tis difficult to change nature; "But we, fays Origen, know, " that all men are created with reasonable Souls, not " made evil by their Creator, but become wicked by education and evil company; and therefore are per-" fuaded they may be easily converted by the word of "God: if they believe, they must commit themselves to "him, and do every thing fo as to please him." I do not presume to give an abstract of this excellent book, the whole of it deserves to be seriously perused; there we may find the authority of the books of Moses, of the Old Testament, and of the History of the Gospel, vindicated from most of those objections that Deists and Libertines to this day raise against them.

Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, who flourished about the year of our Lord 248, and suffered martyrdom in the year 258, in his little treatise, De Idolorum Vanitate, which seems to be an abstract of Minutius Felix, and is oft printed with that author, says *, " That those, whom the common people worship, are not Gods, we may know, since they were Kings, who, for their sacred memory, were honoured by their people, even after their death. Therefore they built them temples, and erected their images, to which they offered sacrisices, and celebrated sestival Days to their honour. These things, which were for the comfort of the present age, was counted Religion to their posterity. Let us see if this does not hold

^{*} Ab initio & per totum passim, Vol. II.

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crue in each of them. Melicertes and Leucothea fall " headlong into the fea, and are afterwards made Gods of that element. Caftor and Pollux die by turns, that they may live again. Hercules, that he may "cease to be man, is burned in the flames of Œta. " Apollo feeds the cattel of Admetus. Neptune builds walls to Laomedon, and the unlucky man wants his wages. The cave and burial-place of Jupiter is to " be feen at Crete; he put Saturn to flight: hence Latium is called, from his lurking in it. He first " raught the people of Italy to know letters, and to " coin money; hence the treasury is called Ararium " Saturni. He was a husbandman, and is therefore " painted as an old man carrying a hook. Janus entertained him when he was put to flight, from him faniculum is named, and the month fanuary " looking to the year passing away and coming in. " The Moors do plainly worship Kings, nor do they "difguife it at all; and therefore they have a different Religion in every nation and province. Alexander the Great, in a remarkable book wrote to his mother, fays, That from fear, a priest told him the " secret of men being turned into Gods, that the memory of their Kings and Ancestors might be preserved; hence came the custom of worshipping and offering sacrifice to them. If Gods were born then, why are none born "now, unless Jupiter be grown old, or Juno left bearing? Why should any body think, that these Gods can do good to the Romans, who could not teach their own people to refift the Roman Arms? We know, the native Gods of the ancient Romans; Romulus was made one, (tho' Proculus swore against it) and "with him Picus, Tiberinus, Pilumnus, and Confus the God of Knavery, whom Romulus would needs have worshipped, as conscious to his tricks, after he had " committed a rape upon the Sabin Women. Tatius "found out and worshipped the Goddess of Privies. "Hostilius added Fear and Paleness. I know not who deified the Fever, and Acca and Flora two whores."-After ls

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ID After he had named several other Roman deities *. he adds, "And the monsters, not the gods of Egypt, of these this one account may be given, that they " deceive, cheat and ruin a foolish blinded people. "These deceitful wandring spirits being drowned in earthly vice, and deprived of heavenly vigour, inftil "their wickedness into men; these the poets call De-" mons. Socrates said, He was governed and instructed " by one of them. Hence the Magicians have power to " perform such wicked and odd things; yet Hostanes, " a chief man among them, denies that men can fee " the form of the true God, and fays, good Angels do " affift at his throne. To which Plato agrees, who " worshipping one God, called all the rest Angels or Demons. Also Hermes Trismegistus owns one God, " and calls him Incomprehensible and Inestimable. These " evil spirits then lurk under the statues and conse-" crated images, they inspire their priests, they govern " the inspection of the entrails, the flight of birds, and "the divination by lots; they utter oracles, mixing " false things with true; for they deceive, and are de-" ceived. They diforder man's life, difturb his fleep, " terrify the mind, creeping in upon you intentibly, " diffort the body, break the health, bring on difeates: " and all this they do to force you to worship them, that being pleafed with the imoke of your altars, " and the fat of your facrifices, by mitigating the diseases themselves brought on, they may seem to " perform fome great cure. This is the remedy when they cease to wrong you; and they have no other defign but to hinder men from ferving the true "God, and to allure them to the abominable wor-" ship of Demons; they, being under punishment, " feek to make you partakers of their crimes, that they may at last have you companions in their torments. But these impure spirits being adjured by " the true God by us Christians, do straight give way, " and are forced to leave the bodies they have polici-" fed. You may fee them, by the invisible operation C 2

^{*} Vide supra, Vol. 1. Cap. 2.

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of the divine majesty accompanying our word, to be tormented, burned as with fire; their pains increased, they weep, groan, plead, and even confess before those who worship them, whence they come, and " whither they go; they depart, and immediately, or by degrees vanish, by the faith of the patient, " and the grace of him who performs the cure. Hence " the vulgar mob hates the name of a Christian; "they begin to hate us before they know us, for if " once they had known us, they would either imitate " our example, or durft not condemn us. There is "then but one God, the governor of the world, his " fublime majefty admits of no confort, fince he "alone possesses all power. — He can neither be " feen nor comprehended, he is brighter than to be " feen, purer than to be touched, greater than that "we can know him; we only rightly esteem him " when we count him inestimable. What temple can " we build to God, who fills the whole world? If a " man cannot be confined to one house, shall we limit " divine majesty to it? Let us dedicate our Souls to " him, and erect a temple for him in our own breafts. " Neither ask for the name of God: There is use of for names when a multitude is to be diffinguished " by proper appellations; but God is one, and fills " all. If you ask what Christ is, and how salvation " comes to us by him? Thus stands the matter; the " grace of God was first discovered to the Jews, "they were just, their fathers did maintain the true " Religion, and therefore their nation did flourish, and "they had a numerous offspring; but when they be-" came flothful, proud, refusing instruction, puffed " up with a confidence in the piety of their fathers, "they flighted the divine precepts, and loft an interest " in his favour. How profane was their life, how " highly they violate the bonds of Religion, them-" felves declare: tho' they confess not with their tongue, "the event proves it, being scattered as vagabonds "thro' the earth, their own land having spewed them out. God also foretold this, That in the end of the

world be would feek out of every nation and people, those who would more faithfully worship him, and reap se the benefits of his divine goodness, which the Jews had despised. To preach this grace, our Lord and Master, the Word and Son of God is sent, who was " declared by all the prophets of old as the enlightner " and teacher of mankind; he is the wildom and " glory of God, he becomes man, being conceived by " the power of the Holy Ghost in the womb of the " virgin, he is the mediator betwixt God and man, " to bring us to the father. — This Lord Jesus, as " was prophefied, did, by his word and power, caft out devils, healed the fick, cured the lepers, made the blind to fee, the lame to walk, and the dead to 46 live; the winds and the fea did obey him, the " devils trembled before him. The Jews, who counted is him a mere man, they called him a magician; their teachers and rabbies, whom he reproved by his " wisdom and powerful doctrine, moved with wrath, " delivered him to Pontius Pilate, Roman deputy then " in Syria, earnestly craving, that he might be cru-" cified: he himself foretold they would do so, ac-" cording to the testimony of the prophets who had " gone before him, That he must suffer and taste of es death, that he might live and return to heaven, to " display the glory of divine majesty. All this he ex-" actly fulfilled; for, being crucified, he willingly " yielded up his spirit to God, and rose of his own " accord on the third day, appearing to his disciples, " fo as they might know him. He remained with " them forty days, teaching them those precepts of " life which they were to explain to others. Then " did he afcend to heaven in a cloud, that man, " whom he loved, whose nature he assumed, whom " he rescued from death, he might carry triumphantly 6 to God. Last of all, he is to come from heaven " to punish the devil, and to judge mankind with the " zeal of an avenger, and the authority of a judge, "His disciples, according to his word, being scat-" tered thro' the world, did preach the way of fal-" vation, to bring men from darkness to light, from " blind-

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" blindness and ignorance to the knowledge of the " truth. That their testimony concerning Christ " might be more folid and convincing, they are "vexed by croffes, torments, and different forts of " punishments. Their pain is a testimony to the truth, " that Christ who gave life unto men, may be com-" mended, not only by doctrine, but also by the testimony of fufferings. Let us follow and accompany "him, taking him for our guide in our journey, as " the fountain of our life, and the author of our fal-" vation, feeking the enjoyment of heaven, and our " heavenly father, as he has promifed to them that " believe: he is Christ, let us be Christians, imitating " his example." By thefe, and the like arguments, Cyprian did persuade many to abandon Paganism, and to embrace Christianity.

Tertullian, a presbyter in Carthage, who flourished about the year of our Lord 192; in his excellent apology, fays to the Gentiles *, "We have left off to " worship your Gods, since we know them not to " be fuch: you may require us to prove, That they " are not Gods, and therefore not to be worshipped,-" for we say they are Gods to you. We appeal from " yourselves to your conscience. Let that judge or condemn you: Dare you deny that these Gods were " once men? If you fay they were not, you'll be " convicted of falshood by the best monuments of "your own antiquities, where there are evidences to "this day on record, of the cities where they were 66 born, of the countries where they conversed, and of "the places where they were buried. It were need-" less to run thro' all your new, old, barbarian, Scy-" thian, Grecian, Roman, stranger, captive, adoptive, " proper, common, male, female, town, country, feafaring and warlike deities. To be short, I'll put you in mind, for you feem to have forgotten it, that none of your Gods were before Saturn, all the " ranks of them proceed from him; if we know the * Apology, Cap. 10, 11. Pag. 28, 29.

Chap. 5. against Paganism. Tertullian. origin, we shall discover the offspring. Now, as far as learning leads us, neither Diodorus the Grecian, " nor Thallus, nor Cassius, nor Severus, nor Cornelius. " Nepos, nor any of your ancient writers, pretend he " was any thing more than a man. If you demand " convincing arguments, we have abundance of these " from Italy itself, where he was received by Janus; the mountain where he dwelt is called Saturnius, the city which he built Saturnia, and the whole country called by his name. — Jupiter was his son, a man come of a man, and so the whole race of "them was mortal. As you dare not deny they were " men, so you affert they were made Gods after their death. Let us consider the reason of this. First of " all, you must acknowledge there is a great God, the origin of the divinity: Who made men to be "Gods? for they could not assume that divinity them-" felves which they had not, nor could any other, who " did not properly possess it, give the same to them; and if none could make them deities, in vain do "they pretend to it. To be fure, if they could make themselves Gods, they should never have been men, when they had power to reap the advantage of a " more happy condition. If they be made Gods, " what is the reason why these men are made Gods? " Certainly the glorious God stood in no need of dead " men to affift him in any affairs. The fun, " moon and stars gave their light, the rain did fall " from heaven from the beginning of the world, be-" fore there were any of the race of Saturn. Jupiter " himself was afraid of thunder, which you foolishly " fay is now in his hands. There was corn, and fruits, 66 before Bacchus, Ceres or Minerva were so much as mentioned. If Bacchus be made a deity for finding the use of the vine, you do wrong to Lucullus " who first brought cherries out of Pontus into Italy, " and discovered the use of them, that you have not " confecrated him among the reft. —— If it be further " alledged, the lovereign who excels in justice, did

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merits; where are the merits of these men to exalt them to heaven? Do they not rather deserve to be thrust down to hell, to which the wicked are sent, " who commit incest with parents and fisters, who are adulterers, ravishers of virgins, who pollute boys, who rage, murder, steal, and commit such crimes " as your deities; for you can prove none of them free of abominable vices? — Why do ye adore them as Gods, when ye condemn their brethren in iniquity to punishment? Your justice approaches "heaven; you deify the worst of men, that they " may put honour on their equals. But paffing this "indignity, allow them once to have been good men; " how many better men do you leave in the infernal regions? Is there any of your deities equal in wif-" dom to Socrates, in justice to Aristides, in war to "Themistocles, in greatness to Alexander, in prosperity to Polycrates, in eloquence to Demosthenes? who of them is fo grave and wife as Cato, fo excellent a " foldier as Scipio, fo mighty as Pompey; fo rich as " Crassus, or so eloquent as Cicero? Would not a iust sovereign rather deify these, knowing who are so the best of men, and not shut heaven in a haste, and " now may be ashamed to find better people, than " those he has advanced to such a dignity, groaning " among the ghosts below?"

I should be too tedious, if I were to transcribe all that these authors have writ upon this subject; and much more, if I should insist upon what Clemens Alexandrinus, Justin Martyr, Minutius Felix, Arnobius, Lactantius, Chrysostom, Theodoret, Augustin in his twenty books of the city of God, Cyril in his answer to Julian, or others, have wrote against the Gentiles. I proceed therefore now to consider what the Heathens charged against the Christians, especially in the three first centuries, and what they answered.

First, The heathens cried out against Christianity, as a grand piece of atheism and impiety; as an affront to their Religion, undermining the very being and existence

Christians of Atheism. Chap. 5. of their Gods. Thus Cacilius the heathen in Minutius Felix *, accuses the Christians, as a desperate and unlawful faction, who, by way of contempt, did snuff and spit at the mention of their Gods, deride their worship, scoff at their priests, despise their temples, as no better than charnel bouses, and beaps of dead bones. For these and the like reasons, Christians were every where counted a pack of Atheists, and their religion frequently called Atheim by the emperor Julian. Thus Lucian brings in Alexander the impostor, as an oracle-monger, and ranks the Christians with Atheists and Epicureans, as those who were especially to be banished from the mysterious rites +. To this charge the Christians answered; First, That the Gentiles were incompetent judges, being wholly ignorant of the true state of the Christian Dostrine; and therefore unfit to pronounce sentence against it; Thus, when Crescens the philosopher had traduced the Christians as atheistical and irreligious, Justin Martyr anfwers ||, " That he talks of those things he understands on not, when he calls Christians atheists and ungodly " men, to comply with the humour of those he had

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"feduced; in reproaching the doctrine of Christ, when he was ignorant of it, he shew'd a most wicked temper; or if he did understand its greatness and excellency, then he shew'd himself much more base and disingenuous, in charging upon it what he knew to be false, concealing his inward sentiments, for fear he should be suspected to be a Christian." Secondly, They did in some fort confess the charge, that according to the vulgar notions the Heathens had of deities, they were Atheists, that is, strangers and enemies to them. Thus the same Justin Martyr tells the emperor ‡,

^{5.} That the Gods of the Gentiles were at best but De-

[&]quot;mons, impure and unclean spirits, who had long imposed upon mankind, and by their villany, so phistry, and acts of terror had so affrighted the

phistry, and acts of terror, had so affrighted the

Minutius Felix, pag. m. 19. † Pseudomantis, Operum Luciani Tom. 2. pag. 888.

Apologia prima, Operum pag. m. 46, 47.

Apologia fecunda, Operum pag. 55, 56.

26 The Answers of Primitive Christians

common people, who knew not really what they were, that they called them Gods, and gave to every one of them that name the Demon was willing to " take to himfelf." That they really were nothing but Devils, the Christians manifested at every turn, forcing them to confess it, while by prayer, and invocating the name of the true God, they drove them out of posses'd persons*; and therefore they trembled to encounter with a Christian, as Octavius triumphantly tells Cacilius +. The Christians also declared, that the Pagans entertain'd the most absurd and fabulous notions of their Gods, and usually ascribed such things to them, as would be counted an horrible shame and dishonour to any wife or good man; the worship and mysterious rites of many of them, being so brutish and filthy, that the honester Romans were asham'd of it; and therefore overturn'd their altars, and banish'd them out of the roll of their Deities, tho' their degener rate posterity took them in again, as Tertullian obferves ||. Indeed their Gods were so impure and beattly. their worship was so obscene and detestable, that Julius Firmieus advises them \(\pm\) to turn their temples into theatres, where the fecrets of their religion may be delivered on the stage, and to make their players priests. that the mob may fing the amours, sports, and pastimes, the wantonnesses and impieties of their Gods: no other place being fo fit for fuch a religion. Befides. the Pagans ascribed to their Gods human bodies, with blemishes and imperfections; yea, that they were liable to death itself, and were guilty of the most prodigious villanies; revenge, murder, incest and luxury, rapes and adulteries, drunkenness and intemperance, theft and unnatural rebellion against their parents, and the like, of which the writings of their poets and best authors are full; which served only to corrupt and debauch the minds and manners of youth, as Octavius tells

† Minucius Felix, pag. 63.

^{*} Cyprian de Idolorum Vanitate, ubi fupra.

Apologia, cap. 6, 7. ‡ De Errore profan. Religionum.

Chap. s. to the Accufations of the Heathens. tells his adverfary*, where he purfues the argument with great eloquence and reason; and at the same time derides their image-worship, their foolish falling down before images and statues, which were despised as infenfible dead things by the meanest of creatures. "The " mice, fays he t, the swallows, batts, &c. gnaw, " infult, fit upon your Gods, and, unless you drive " them away, build nests in their mouths, the spiders weave their webs over their faces; you first make "them, then clean, wipe and protect them, that you " may fear and worship them; but you should know " it is a God before you worship it- If we should view all your rites, there are many things justly de-" ferve to be laugh'd at, others that call for pity and " compassion." Now, 'tis no wonder that Chriflians were not in the least asham'd to be call'd Atheists. that is, who deny and oppose such a religion as this. But Thindly, In the ftrict and proper notion of atheism. they truly and confidently denied the charge, and appeal'd to their feverest adversaries, if those, who own'd fuch principles as they, could be Atheists: none ever pleaded better, and more irrefragable arguments for the existence of one supreme, infinite Being, who made and governs all things by infinite wildom; none more clear to produce a confession of their faith on this great article of religion than they. Justin Martyr tells the emperor Antoninus ||, " Can we be Atheists, wicked, " and without God, who worship the great God the "Creator of the whole world, not with blodoy facri-" fices, incense and oblations, which we know he " stands in no need of; but we exalt him according to " our power with prayer and praises, in all the ad-" dreffes we make to him, believing this to be the only " honour that's worthy of him? We do not confume " creatures given for our use, and the comfort of those " who want them, by burning them in facrifices; but "approve ourselves thankful to our God, by celebra-"ting his praises who created and preserves us, and

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^{*} Minutii Felicis Octavius, pag. m. 45—49. † Ibid. pag. 54. Apologia fecunda, Operum pag. 60. Edit. Cologn. 1686.

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es gives us eternal life. We offer our prayers to him of for all things we want, according to that faith and " trust we repose in him, as we are taught by our Lord " and Master Jesus Christ, who was crucified under 46 Pontius Pilate, in the reign of the emperor Tiberius " Cæsar, who is the son of the true God, whom, with " the Holy Spirit, we adore and worship. We are ac-" cused, fays Arnobius *, that our religion is impious, " unholy, and full of facrilege, profaning the ancient " ceremonies with rites of new superstition: This is " the reason why the Gods are offended with us, and " why you Gentiles do fo rage against us, confiscating our estates, banishing our persons, beating, tearing, " yea racking us to death; yea, throwing us to be de-" vour'd by the teeth of wild beafts.—"Tis not now " proper to explain who they are that fo condemn us, 55 how little they know or can do, how they are afraid " at the mention of the name of Christ, yet they hate us 66 his disciples. But we Christians are the worshippers 66 of the supreme king and governour of the world, as " we are taught by Christ our master; consider, and " you'll find nothing else in our religion. This is the " fum of the whole affair, this is the end and defign of our divine offices, before him we are wont to proftrate " and bow ourselves, him we worship with common " and conjoin'd prayers; from him we ask those things "that are just and honest, and such as are not unwor-"thy of him to hear and grant—We adore the " mighty God, the Sovereign of the whole creation, " the Governour of the highest powers; we pray to "him daily with the most obsequious reverence, and in " an afflicted state lay hold on him with all our powers, " love him and look to him-Tell me, you men of " reason, why is this a dismal and detestable religion?" Upon the whole we may fee, that the enemies of Christianity had little reason to brand it with Atheism and Irreligion.

This charge proving ineffectual, the Gentiles accused our religion of Novelty: This was alledg'd against the

Apostle

^{*} Adversus Gentes, Lib. 1. pag. m. 21. & seq.

Chap. 5. to the Accusations of the Heathens. 29 Apostle Paul, when he preached at Athens*, That he was a setter forth of strange Gods, because he preached Tesus and the Resurrection, and was followed with a loud cry in succeeding times. "You are wont to ob-" ject to us, fays Arnobius +, that our religion is a no-" velty, started up not many days ago, and that we "ought not to defert the antient religion of our fathers, " to espouse barbarous and foreign rites. And Eusebius tells us ||, "The heathens were wont to reason thus: "What strange religion is this! what new way of life! "wherein we can neither discern the rites used in "Greece among us, nor among any fect of the Barba-, " rians; who then can deny them to be impious? Who " have forfaken the customs of their fathers, observ'd before in all cities and countries, revolting from that " way of worship which had been universally received in all ages, both by Greeks and Barbarians, enter-" tain'd in cities and villages, countenanc'd by the " common consent of kings, law-givers, philosophers, " and the greatest persons whatsoever." Thus the heathen in Minucius Felix fays +, " What more excellent " and venerable, than to entertain the discipline of " our fore-fathers, to folemnize that religion that has " been deliver'd to us, to worship those Gods, the "knowledge of whom has been infused into us by our " parents; not boldly to determine concerning the Dei-"ties, but to believe those who have been before us, "who in the rude ages of the infancy of the world, " had either their Gods or Kings favourable to them?" Lastantius speaking of the heathens, fays **, "'Tis " their religion most obstinately to maintain the rites " deliver'd down to them from their ancestors; not " fo much confidering what they are, as concluding "them to be right and good, because the ancients " transmitted the same to them: Nay, so great is the " power and authority of antiquity, that 'tis conceiv'd " a kind of impiety to question or enquire into it." After

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^{*} Acts 17. 18. † Lib. 2. pag. 106. || Præp. Evang. Lib. 1. cap. 2. pag. 5. ‡ Pag. mihi 14. ** De falsa Religione, Lib. 2. pag. m. 135.

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After Christianity had been settled some hundred years in the world, and became the prevailing religion, that had in a manner banish'd all others out of doors, this charge was still continu'd. Thus Julian the emperor. writing to the people of Alexandria concerning the Galileans, (so he used in scorn to name the Christians*,) " fwears by the Gods, he is ashamed that any among " them should own himself a Galilean. The fathers of the true Hebrews of old ferved the Egyptians; but wyou who have overcome Egypt, for your founder Alexander subdued it, allow the old opinions of your country to be contemned." Thus Lucian, long before Julian, speaking of our Saviour, calls him, That great man that was crucified in Palestine, who introduced that new religion into the world +.

In answer to this charge, the Christians replied, First, That it was not true; for many principles of Christianity are the fame with the law of nature, therefore from the beginning of all things; and the Christian Religion is the same with that of the ancient Jews, which claims precedency of all others in the world. See what we have already advanced concerning the antiquity of Moses ||. The antient Patriarchs, says Eusebius t, were the Christians of the old world, who had the same faith, religion, and worship common with us; nay, the fame name too, as he endeavours to prove from that text, Pfalm cv. 15. Touch not mine anointed, Twy Χριστων μου, my Christs or Christians. And how far these patriarchs were superior in age to any thing upon record concerning the most antient Gentiles, even by their oldest writers, Orpheus, Homer and Hesiod, nay to the very Gods of the heathers, is sufficiently made evident by the first christian writers **: That Moses, by the easiest computation, was fix hundred years before Homer, yea long before Cadmus, the first inventor of letters among the Greeks. Therefore Origin tells Celfus,

^{*} Epist. 51. Juliani Operum pag. m. 423. † De Morte Peregrini, Operum Tom. 2. pag. m. 565.

Supra Vol. I. Cap. 1.

Demon. Evang. lib. 1. cap. 5.

** Theophilus Antiochenus, Tatian, Clemen. Alex. Strom. Lib. 1.

Chap. 5. to the Accusations of the Heathens. Celfus*, " That Moses was elder than Homer, yea so than the first inventors of letters in Greece; what he has concerning the destruction of Sodom and Gomor-" rab, he did not borrow from the story of Phaëton, which is a fable invented after Homer's time, who " lived long after Mofes." And in another place Origen fays +, "I would willingly ask Celsus, why he, who knows the hiftories of the Greeks and Barbarians, and believes their antiquities, should only doubt of the " antiquities of the Jews? If the writers of other na-"tions give a true account of their affairs, why do you " not believe the prophets among the fews? ----- A greater man than Celfus, Numenius the Pythagorean, in his first book, Theor Taradov, when he enumerates the nations who conceived God to be incorporeal, reckons the Jews among them; nor was he ashamed to infert the very words of their prophets, and to interpret the figures they used. 'Tis also said, that Hermippus, in his first book of lawgivers, relates, that Pythagoras brought his philosophy from the Jews into Greece. The book of Hecatæus, containing the history of the Jews, is still extant, (viz. in Origen's time, tho' now lost) where he admires the wildom of that " nation." Yea, the Christians afferted, that whatever useful or excellent thoughts the great men among the heathens advanced, were borrowed, or more truly itolen from the writings of the ancient Jews, as is demonfirated by Eusebius | at large, and before him by Clemens of Alexandria t, who calls Plato the Hebrew philosopher; and before them both, by Tertullian, who fays **, "Is a philosopher to be compared with a "Christian? A scholar in Greece with one taught by heaven? One that trades for fame, with him that trades for life eternal? A good life with empty words? A builder with a destroyer? A friend with an enemy of truth? A thief who steals and " corrupts truth, with one who preserves it pure and

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^{*} Contra Celsum, Lib. 4. pag. 174. + Ibid. Lib. 1. pag. 12, 13. || Præp. Evang. Lib. 10. per totum.

* Apolog. cap. 47. Operum pag. 52.

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"entire? If I be not deceived, older than all the phis" losophers is antiquity built on the holy Scriptures; this is the treasure for all posterior wisdom. If I did not fear to swell my book into too great a volume, I would run out upon the probation of this truth. Which of the poets, which of the sophists; did not drink at the sountain of the prophets? Thence the philosophers did quench their thirst; so as they compare with us by what they had from our Scriptures." Upon these considerations the accusation

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appears false and unjust, and Christianity the oldest religion in the world.

Secondly, Admit the Christian Religion, in a limited fense, to be of a later standing than the religion of the Gentiles, yet 'tis infinitely reasonable to change for the better; new truth is better than antient error. Thus pleads Lastantius*, "Reason teaches you, that the " religion of your heathenish Gods is not true: What " wilt thou do? Wilt thou follow reason or thy an-" ceftors? --- If reason, then thou must depart " from the custom and authority of thy forefathers, " because that only can be right that is prescribed by " reason: but if piety towards thy ancestors sway thee " to follow them, then thou must own them to be 66 fools, who invented a religion contrary to reason, " and thyfelf to be foolish in worshipping what thou " art convinced to be false. Neither hast thou so great " reason to boast of these ancestors; an herd of vaga-" bonds gathered in by Romulus, to plant and inhabit "his new city, and to constitute the senate thereof, as " he there more fully demonstrates. Thus Arnobius fays +, "As to what you object concerning the novelty " of our religion, was it any crime, in the early ages of "the world, that when they found out the use of bread " and corn, they would no more feed on acorns; "when they found the use of convenient garments, they would no longer clothe themselves with leaves and barks of trees, or bealts skins? That they were no " longer

^{*} De salsa Religione, Lib. 2. cap. 7. p. 135. + Contra Gentes, Lib. 2. pag. 106.

Chap. 5. to the Accusations of the Heathens. 33 " longer fond of base filly cottages, or chose to dwell " like wild beafts in rocks and caves, when they had " learned to build better habitations? 'Tis reasonable of for men to prefer better to what is worfe, good to " evil, profitable to what is useless, and to follow what " we know to be most excellent, and can thereby ex-" pect falvation and faving advantage. Therefore, "when you charge us with apostacy from the religion " of the ancients, you should rather consider the fact, and not upbraid us with what we have left, but ra-"ther consider what we have entertain'd: For, if " merely to change our opinion, and to pass from an-" cient institutions to new, be a crime, then none so " guilty of it as yourselves, who have changed your " cuftoms, rites, and manner of life, condemning "those you have abandoned; your election of ma-" giftrates, your classing of your people, the rites of " your religion, your idols, and every thing among " you is new, more than among any fet of people :" as he there more particularly demonstrates. Thus Ambrose bishop of Milan, answers Symmachus the Pagan præfect of Rome, who, in a prolix oration, had exhorted the emperors Theodosius, and Arcadius, and Honorius, to favour his religion, faying *, " That old " age has true cause to blush when ashamed to reform; "'tis not multitude of years, but the goodness of man-" ners that makes grey hairs worthy of praise; no age " is too late to learn, 'tis no shame to grow better, " nullus pudor est ad meliora transire—If you heathens " be so pleased with old rites, how comes it to pass, "that there has been even in Rome itself a succession of " new and foreign rites? Not to mention that your " shepherds cottages do now shine with gold, why do " you feek the Idols and Gods of cities you have con-" quered? Why do you receive and imitate the " strange customs of their religious superstition? "Whence comes your Phrygian priests, the hateful "Gods of Carthage that were enemies to the Romans, " the

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^{*} Operum Ambrosii Tom. 2. pag. 118. & seq. Epist. lib. 5. Epist. 31. Vol., II.

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the Deities of the Africans, and the Mithra of the Persians, &c.—A Christian Emperor has learned only to honour Christ's altar; would you force his holy hands and pure lips to exhibit honour to your facrilegious oblations? Let the voice of our emperor

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" only praife, only acknowledge Christ; for the king's

stianity despicable, relates to the circumstances of their external state and condition in the world. Thus the

A third accufation the heathens used, to render Chri-

" heart is in the hand of the Lord."

heathen Cecilius, in Minucius Felix, fays*, & The "Christians are men of a desperate and unlawful fac-"tion, who rage against the Gods, who gather a com-" pany of the very dregs and refuse of the people, and " filly credulous women, who by the weakness of their " fex are easily imposed upon, and combine into a " wicked confederacy; who, by night-meetings, fo-" lemn fasts, and inhuman food, join in an unlawful " union; a fet of people that lurk in corners and shun the light, filent in publick, but very talkative in " private." Thus Celfus the heathen also alledged +, "That among the Christians no wife learned men were admitted to the mysteries of their religion, that being " counted unlawful; but if any be unlearned, an in-" fant or an idiot, let him come with confidence: for " none but fools void of fense, flaves, women or little " children, are fit disciples for the God they worship." Afterward he fays |, "We may fee these mountebank " impostors boasting of great things to the vulgar, not " in the presence of wise men, that they dare not; but " wherever they fee a flock of boys, flaves, or weak " people, there they crowd in and boaft. You'll fee,

as he adds ‡, " weavers, taylors, fullers, and the most " rustick illiterate fellows at home, when before their " elders and betters, as mute as fishes, but when they can get a few boys and filly women in a corner,

[&]quot;then who is fo wife, fo full of talk, and fo able to teach and instruct as they? They'll say the boys will

^{*} Pag. mihi 19. + Origen contra Celsum, Lib. 3. pag. 137. | Origen contra Celsum, Lib. 3. pag. 141. + Ibid. pag. 144.

Chap. 5. to the Accusations of the Heathens.

will be happy if they hear them, and the whole fa-

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To this accusation Origen answers *, " That 'tis for "the most part false and calumnious; the Christian "Doctrine invites to true wisdom." David desires the Lord may make bim to know wisdom, Psalm li. 6. How eminent for wisdom and learning were Moses, Solomon, Daniel, and other faints in the Old Testament? and our Bleffed Redeemer promifed to fend prophets, wife men, and scribes, Matth. xxiii. 34. to propagate his doctrine. The Apostle Paul reckons the spirit of knowledge and wisdom among the best of gifts, I Cor. xii. 8. If any where he reflects on wildom and human learning, he only cenfures the abuse, never intending to blame the thing itself. When he prescribes the character of a bishop, he requires, that he be apt to teach, able by found dostrine to exhort and convince gainsayers, Titus i. 9. That Christians are so far from prohibiting any who come to be instructed, however wife, learned and prudent, provided the unlearned and simple be not excluded, that they are welcome, the Gospel does provide a remedy for all. That learning does not hinder the knowledge of God, but does mightily advance it. Origen also adds, "Tis a calumny to compare us to wandring " impostors; for we, by our reading and expounding "the divine oracles, do only exhort the people to " piety towards the great God, and to the rest of the " virtues which are its companions, and do rescue them " from brutish and irregular passions. Christians are " fo far from admitting any, hand over head, that they " pre-examine the minds of those who defire to become "their auditors; and when they perceive them fully " refolv'd to lead a pious and religious life, then they " admit them. 'Tis false to say we apply ourselves only to women and children, and that in corners; "when we endeavour what we can, by all means, to " fill our focieties with wife, prduent persons, and to " fuch we open the more fublime mysteries of religion; " otherwise accommodating our discourses to the ca-" pacities D 2

^{*} Ibid. pag. 138. & sequentibus.

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" pacities of meaner persons, who stand in more need " of milk than strong meat. And whereas we are " accused to seduce and circumvent filly women and " little children *, let him produce any fuch, and en-" quire of them, whether ever they heard better ma-" fters than ours; or if they did, why they should " leave fo grave discipline, and suffer themselves to be " feduced to a worse? But he'll find no such thing to fasten upon us; but on the contrary, we reclaim women from immodelty, from falling out with their " husbands, and parting from them; from the wild " extravagance of the sports and theatres, from all " fuperstition whatsoever. The youth, who are prone " to vice and luxury, we restrain, not only by telling " how base a thing lust is, but also into what danger "they precipitate their fouls, and what punishment "divine vengeance treasures up for such offenders. "We openly, not in corners, promife eternal happi-" ness to those, who live according to the rules of " the Divine Law, who fet God always before their " eyes, and, in whatever they do, endeavour to apor prove themselves to him. Is this the discipline, these " the doctrines of weavers, taylors, fullers, and the

" most illiterate persons? Surely no."

The Christians in these times were also despised on account of their poverty and meanness; they were looked on as the dregs of the people, scarce a considerable man among them. See, says the Heathen in Minutius Felix +, the most and best of all your party are distressed with poverty, cold and hunger. This charge, however impertinent, since the goodness of any religion does not depend on the greatness of its professors, was also most salse; the Christians having among them persons of the best rank and quality; and after some years, the princes and potentates of the world, even the emperors themselves struck sail to the sceptre of Christ. But I have discoursed more fully of the great increase of Christianity, and

^{*} Origen contra Celsum, lib. 3. pag. m. 145. † Pag. 26.

Chap.s. to the Accusations of the Heathens. 37 of the ruin of heathenish idolatry, in the two preceding chapters of this Essay, and therefore shall not now go upon that subject. Tho' we suppose the Christians to have been as mean and poor, as the malice and cruelty of their enemies did endeavour to make them, yet this was no real prejudice to their cause. " That "the most part of us are called poor, says the Chri-" ftian in Minutius Felix *, is not our dishonour, but our glory; the mind, as it is diffolved by luxury, " fo 'tis strengthened by frugality. But how can a " man be poor who wants not, who covets not what " is another man's, who is rich towards God? " man is rather poor, who, when he has much, de-" fires more; no man can be fo poor as when he was 66 born. The birds live without any patrimony, the beafts find pasture every day, and we feed on them, and they are born for our use, which, when we do " not covet, we enjoy. He goes happier to heaven, " who is not burdened with an unnecessary load of " riches. Did we think estates so useful to us, we " would beg them of God, who being Lord of all, " would afford us what is necessary; but we had ra-"ther contemn riches than possess them, and chuse " innocency and patience, defiring rather to be good " than to be prodigal; our courage is increased by " infirmities, and calamity is oft the discipline of vir-" tue, &c."

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The Christians were also charged as very useless, unserviceable people, who contributed nothing to the happiness of the commonwealth; nay, were destructive to human fociety, and the procuring cause of the milchiefs and calamities that befel the world. That they were not so unprofitable, Tertullian thus demonstrates †:

" How can this be, when we live among you, have

" the fame diet, habit, manner and way of life; we

" are no Brachmans, nor Indian Gymnosophists, who " live in woods, and banish themselves from all civil

" life; we are not unmindful of what we owe to our

" great Creator, and therefore despise none of his " creatures, D 3

^{*} Pag. mihi 82. + Apol. cap. 42. Operum pag. 50.

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" creatures, tho' careful to use them with temperance and fobriety: wherefore, we live not in the world " without the use of your markets, shambles, baths, " taverns, fhops, stables, fairs, and other ways of hu-" man commerce: we go to fea with you, till and " improve the ground; we use merchandise and trade " among you, we exercise crafts and expose our work-" manship to fale. How then are we unserviceable " to your affairs, with and by which we live? I own, " fays he *, if any have cause to complain that Chri-" ftians are unprofitable, 'tis the bawds, panders, " pimps, hectors and ruffians, fellers of poifon, ma-" gicians, foothfayers, wizards, and aftrologers; to " be unserviceable to these, is attended with the greatest " fruit and advantage: but whatever loss arises to " your affairs by our fect, 'tis more than compensed; " for we cast out devils, we pray for you that do " not believe, and you have nothing to fear from us." The Christians did also plead they were serviceable to the publick good; first, by reclaiming men from sin and vice, to a good and virtuous life; by which they provided for mens highest interest, their eternal happiness in the life to come, and for the peace and welfare of the place where they lived: wicked men being the plague of human fociety. This is the argument which Origen at every turn uses to the honour of Christianity: "A good man, says he +, will esteem " a physician who restores the bodies of many sick " people to health, as a favour from God. How far better is he who heals and converts their fouls from " the evil of their ways? teaching them to depend " on God, to regulate their actions according to " his will, and to shun the least evil action that dis-" pleases him. Enquire ‡ into the lives of some " of us, compare our former and our present course, " and you may perceive in what filthiness and impieties " men wallowed, before they entertained the Christian Doctrine; but fince they entred into it, how just, grave,

^{*} Apol. Operum cap. 43. + Contra Celsum, lib. 1. pag 9. + Ibid. pag. 21.

Chap.s. to the Accusations of the Heathers. 39 " grave, moderate, and constant are they become? "Yea, some so inflamed with the love of purity and " holiness, that they forbear even what lawfully they " might enjoy. The Church is full of these in every " place thro' the world * .- How is it possible they " can be pestilent and hurtful, who have converted " fo many from the fink of vice to the study of virtue, to a life of temperance, agreeable to the " dictates of right reason?" Theodoret discoursing against the Gentiles, of the excellency of the laws of Christ, above any given by the best philosophers, or wifest among the heathens +, gives them instances of whole nations, whom Christianity had brought off from the most brutish and savage manners. He tells of the Persians, who, according to the laws given by Zarada, lived in incestuous mixtures with their own silters, mothers and daughters, looking on it as a lawful practice: but so soon as they entertained Christianity, they abandoned these abominable laws, and submitted to that temperance and chaftity the Gospel requires. And whereas, they were wont to cast out the bodies of their dead, to be devoured by beafts and birds of prey; fince they embraced the Christian Religion, they abstained from that piece of inhumanity, and decently buried them.— The Massagetæ, who thought it the most miserable thing to die any other than a violent death, and therefore made a law, That all persons arrived to old age, should be offered in sacrifice and eaten; no sooner submitted to Christianity, but they abhorred such barbarous customs. The Tibares, who used to throw aged persons down the steepest rocks, abandoned this upon their embracing the Gospel.— Nor did the Scythians any longer with their dead bury those alive, who had been their nearest friends and kindred. So great a change did the laws of Christ make on the manners of men, and so easily were the most barbarous nations persuaded to entertain them! A thing which Plato, tho' the best of philosophers, could never effectuate

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^{*} Ibid. lib. 2. pag. 78.

[†] Theodoret de curandis Græcorum affectibus, Serm. 9.

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among the Athenians; he could never induce them to govern the commonwealth by the laws he had given.

Where the Gospel did not produce this effect to reclaim men from vice and vanity, and to bring them over to the religion of our Saviour; yet it had this excellent influence, as it refined their understandings, and filled their minds with more useful and practical notions about religion, than ever they had before. To this purpose 'tis observable, the philosophers who lived in the time of Christianity, after the Gospel publickly appeared in the world, wrote in a much more divine strain, and entertained more honourable fentiments of religion, than those of their sect who went before them; of which no account can be given fo fatisfying, as, that the genius and spirit of the Gospel began then to fly abroad, and to breathe in a free air, and fo could not but leave some tincture and savour upon the spirits of men, tho' its most inveterate enemies. Besides, many of them did converse with the facred scriptures, or with the writings of Christians, which they read either out of curiofity, or with a defign to confute them. This furnished them with better notions, and more useful rules of life, than are to be found in any of the old philosophers; as appears by those uncommon Rules of morality that run thro' the writings of Seneca, Epistetus, Antoninus, Arrian, Plutarch, Hierocles, Simplicius, Plotinus, and others, who lived in these first ages of the Christian Church. See for example the prayer, whereby Simplicius concludes his comment on EpiEtetus*, which may be thus translated: I beseech thee, O Lord, thou who art the Father and Guide of our rational powers, grant, that we may be mindful of those noble and generous natures with which thou hast invested us; and assist us, that as persons endowed with self-moving principles, we may cleanse ourselves from all bodily and brutish passions, that we may subdue and govern them, and in a due and decent manner use them only as organs and instruments. Help us, thro' the Light of the

^{*} Simplicius in Epictetum, pag. m. 364. Cave's primitive Chriflianity, pag. 40.

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the devil or desperate diseases. Yea Severus, the father of Antoninus, having been cured by being anointed with oil by *Proculus* a Christian, he kept him in his palace to his death, whom Antoninus knew well, having been himfelf nurfed upon Christian milk. Tho' the case was thus evident how much the world was obliged to the Christians, yet they were looked upon as the pest of human society, and counted the common enemies of mankind; as Tertullian complains †: "If the city be belieged, if any thing hap-

* Ad Scapulam, cap. 4. pag. 92.

⁺ Apolog. cap. 1, Operum pag. m. 17.

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co pen ill in the fields, in the garrifons, in the islands, " presently they cry out, 'Tis because of the Christians. "They were counted a troublesome people *, the " enemies of mankind. Our enemies, says the same " author, conspire the ruin of good men +, and thirst s after the blood of the innocent, cloaking their hatred with this vain pretence, That the Christians are the se cause of all publick calamities. If Tyber flows up to the walls, if the river Nile do not overflow the fields, " if the heavens alter their course, if there be an " earthquake, a famine, a plague; prefently the cry is, Away with the Christians to the lions!" Arnobius tells us ‡, The Heathens were wont to object at every turn, and to conclude it as fure as if dictated by an oracle. That fince the Christians appeared in the world. the earth had been well nigh undone, mankind had been over-run with infinite kinds of evils, and the very Gods themselves had withdrawn that solemn concern wherewith they were wont to superintend human affairs. So hot and common was this charge among the Pagans, that Augustine Bishop of Hippo, was obliged to write those excellent Books, De civitate Dei, on purpose to stop this objection, when the Goths and Vandals broke in upon the Roman empire; at his request, Orosius wrote his feven books of history against the Pagans.

To this charge the Christians answered, first, That the Gentiles might find the true cause of these things nearer home; there being just cause to think, Divine Providence was offended with them for their own sins. Tertullian tells them ||, the real ground of God's displeasure was, that when they knew God, they gloristed him not as God, neither were thankful, but became vain in their imaginations, and changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like a corruptible man, and to birds, and sour-footed beasts, and creeping things, as the apostle had before told them. That it is more credible, God was offended with them who despised him, and worshipped statues of wood and

^{*} Apolog. cap. 37. pag. 46. + Ibid. cap. 40. pag. 48. + Contra Gentes, lib. 1. pag. 1. | Apolog. cap. 40, 41. pag. 45.

Chap. 5. to the Accusations of the Heathens. 43 and stone, than with Christians, who worshipped him according to the rule of his own word. Cyprian tells Demetrian, then Proconful*, "God is not angry with us who worship him, but these evils come upon " you for your fins, who neither feek nor fear God, " nor leaving your vain superstitions, do you own the " true religion; God alone is to be worshipped and " ferved: hear his own words, Thou shalt worship the " Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve. Thou " shalt have no other gods before me. Thou shalt not co go after strange gods, nor worship them. - + You " are displeased that God is angry, as if, in living ill, you deserved well, and as if God had not punished " you less than your iniquities do deserve. Thou " who judgest others, judge thy self; inspect the retirements of thy own Conscience, and behold thyself on now, who shalt one day be seen naked by all. Thou " art either puffed up with pride, swelled with covetousness, cruel in anger, spendthrift in game, drunk " with wine, full of envy, debauch'd with luft, or mad with cruelty: And why shouldst thou wonder, that the flames of divine anger should rife higher, when " the fins of men daily call for it?" This answer he there profecutes to excellent purpose, and exhorts the heathen Proconful ‡, "Leave then your idols, which " the corrupt minds of men have devised, turn unto "God; if you feek him, he will help you; believe on " Christ, whom the Father hath sent to restore us " unto life; give over hurting and persecuting the servants of God and Christ; for divine vengeance will " pursue the persecutors."

Secondly, As to the thing itself charged upon the Christians, they denied it to be true, and that for two reasons; 1st, Because the world had been sadly and frequently peftered with fuch miseries, long before the Christian Religion appeared in it. " Pray, says Ter-" tullian ||, what miseries did overwhelm the world,

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^{*} Cyprian contra Demetrianum, pag. m. 217.

[†] Ibid. pag. 219. ‡ Ibid. pag. 224.

| Apolog. cap. 40. Operum pag. 48. Edit. Coloniæ, 1617. Notis Pamelii.

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" and even Rome itself, before the times of Tiberius, " that is, before the coming of Christ? Have we not read of Hierapolis, and the islands of Delos, Rhodes " and Cos, destroyed with many thousands of men in "them? Does not Plato speak of the greater part of " Asia and Africk carried off by the Atlantick sea? " An earthquake drank up the Corintbian sea, and "the force of the ocean rent off Sicily from Italy. Were the Christians the great contemners of your " gods then? But, where were your gods themselves, " when the flood over-ran the world? - Palestine " had not then received the Jewish nation out of " Egypt; much less had the Christians sat down there, " when Sodom and Gomorrab, with the adjacent places, were burnt up by a shower of fire and brimstone, " of which the country finells to this day; if any " apples or trees be feen there, when touched, they " turn into ashes. Nor could Tuscia and Campania " complain of the Christians, when a fire from heaven " destroyed the Volsinii and the Pompeii. None as yet " worshipped the true God at Rome, when Hannibal " at Cannæ made fuch a flaughter of the Romans, "that the very rings which he took, being the honour-" able badges of none but Roman Knights, were mea-" fured by the bushel. Your gods were generally " worshipped when the Gauls took the capitol itself." So does this grave author retort their arguments upon themselves. Arnobius does the same*, and bids them run over the annals and records, which were written in all languages, and they'll find, that all nations had their common miseries and devastations. The clearing of this argument was the great defign of Orofius, in drawing down the history of the world thro' all ages. adly, The Christians answered, Since our religion entred into the world, affairs have been more prosperous than before, especially when the Christian Religion was encouraged. Melito Bishop of Sardis, in an oration which he presented to the Emperor M. Antoninus, (part

^{*} Contra Gentes, lib. 1. pag. m. 10, 11.

Chap. 5. to the Accusations of the Heathens. 45 (part whereof is yet extant in Eusebius *) tells him, That Christianity commencing under the reign of "Augustus, was a good omen of the prosperity of the empire; and ever fince, the Roman empire had increafed: to which he, with his fon, being the happy " fuccesfor, he could not better assure it to himself. "than by protecting that religion which had been " born and bred up together with the empire, and " for which his ancestors had an esteem and honour. That it was a great argument that this religion con-" tributed to the happiness of the empire, with which " it began and had grown up. That fince the reign of Augustus no misfortune, but, on the contrary, " according to all mens wishes, every thing had hapor pened to be magnificent and prosperous. " Emperors, only Nero and Domitian did persecute " our doctrine: -But your predecessors did, by their " orders, restrain attempts that way." Eusebius also once and again observes +, that the affairs of the empire commonly flourished when Christianity was protected; but when that was perfecuted, things went to rack, and their ancient peace and prosperity could not be retrieved, till peace was restored to the Christians. Therefore Cyprian tells the Proconful +, that their cruelty to the Christians was one of the crying fins that had provoked God to inflict fo many heavy miseries upon them; not only refusing to worship God themselves, but unjustly persecuting those that did, with all the methods of rage and cruelty.—Why is your cruelty so insatiable? Either to be a Christian is a crime, or it is not: If it be a crime, why do you not kill those who confess it? If it be no crime, why do you punish the innocent? Thus, tho' outward prosperity be no evidence of a true religion, Christians being to be judged rather by their holiness than their prosperity, yet they made it evident, they were not the cause of pulling down vengeance on the world; their enemies rather pulled it down upon their own heads.

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^{*} Hist. Eccl. lib. 4. cap. 26. + Ibid. lib. 7. cap. 1, lib. 8. cap. 13. ‡ Ad Demetrianum, pag. m. 221, 222.

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The fourth, and indeed the heaviest charge made by the Gentiles against the Christians, was on the account of their moral carriage and behaviour. Here they are accused at every turn of no less than facrilege, fedition, and high treason, of incest and promiscuous mixtures, of murder, and eating the flesh of infants. Of all these crimes the heathen in Minutius Felix * accuses the Christians; the same is to be seen in Athenagoras +. The Christians denied this charge as false and calumnious, maintaining their innocency, declaring by their lives, as well as by their apologies, they were men quite of another make and temper, than their enemies generally did represent them. Their Religion and way of life deserved the praise of all. Who, fays Clement in his excellent epistle to the "Corinthians ||, did ever dwell among you, that did on not approve of your excellent and unshaken faith? "That did not wonder at your fober and moderate of piety in Christ? Who did not declare the greatness of your hospitality? And did not judge your per-" fect and stable knowledge fit to make you happy? You do all things without respect of persons, walking in God's statutes, subject to those who rule over you in the Lord, and giving due honour to your elders. You command young men to live an " honest and sober life, women to behave without " blemish, to live chastly and holily, keeping a con-" science void of offence, loving their husbands, as in "duty they are obliged, managing their houshold ce affairs with all fobriety. You are humble, not " proud, fubject rather than fubjecting, content " with the daily bread God gives you, hearing dili-" gently his word, enlarged in your bowels of charity, " as mindful of the sufferings of Christ. Thus you " enjoy a profound peace, filled with a defire of doing " good, having God's holy spirit poured out upon " you. Doing all things in the fear of God, having ee his

^{*} Minutius Felix, Pag. 20. & feq. † Legatio pro Christianis, Pag. 4. | Clemens, Pag. 5. & feq. Edit, London 1687.

Chap. 5. to the Accusations of the Heathens. 47 66 his laws written upon the tables of your heart." Athenagoras fays, they placed their Religion not in talking finely, but in living well. " Among us, fays " he *, the meanest poor labourers, and old women. " tho' not able to discourse and dispute for the use-" fulness of their profession, do yet demonstrate it by "their lives and good works. They don't indeed " critically weigh their words, and recite elegant ora-" tions, but they manifest honest and virtuous actions. while, being buffeted, they strike not again, nor " fue them at law, who spoil and plunder them; libe-" rally they give to them that ask, and love their " neighbours as themselves. Thus we do, because we " are affured there is a God who fuperintends human " affairs, who made us, and the whole world, to "whom we are to give an account of all the transac-"tions done in our lives; therefore we do not grudge "to live on a little competency in the world, to be " bountiful to all, tho' to many this appear a contemptible course of life: for we reckon, that no " evil in this world can be fo great, tho' we should " lay down our lives, which is not to be efteemed 66 little, yea, of no value, in comparison of that re-" ward which we look for from the great Judge of the "world, promifed to those who are of a humble, benign, and moderate conversation." Yea, so careful were those primitive Christians to avoid any sinful action, that they stood at a great distance from any thing, tho' lawful in itself, that seemed to carry an ill colour with it. This was the reason, as Origen tells Celsus +, why they refused to do any honour to an image, left thereby they should give occasion to others to think they ascribed divinity to them; and for this cause they shunned all community with the customs of the heathens, abstaining from things strangled, or that had been offered to idols, from frequenting the publick baths, or going to the publick shows, because they feemed to owe their original to idolatry, and were the

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^{*} Ubi fupra, Pag. 12, + Lib. 7. Pag. 375.

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occasion of many great enormities: they refused to wear crowns of laurel, lest they should seem to patronize the custom of the Gentiles, who were wont to do so in their facred and solemn rites; as appeared in the solemnities of the emperors Severus and Caracalla, when the tribune delivered the donative to the soldiers, and all came to receive it with crowns on their heads; one of them brought his crown in his hand, being asked the reason, answered, He was a Christian, and could not do it; which was the occasion of Tertullian's book, De Corona Militis, where he defends this practice of the soldier.

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Secondly, The Christians were willing to put themfelves to the strictest trial, and to undergo the severest penalties, if found guilty of those crimes that were charged upon them. Athenagoras, in his embaffy, fays *, " If we be convicted of any evil, let us be " punished; but not for our mere name. No Christian is a wicked man, unless he act contrary to his pro-" fession. If any man convict us either of a greater or lesser crime, we seek not to be free of punishment, " yea we are willing to fuffer the cruellest you can of put upon us; but if we be accused only for our " name (for to this day those things that are faid of us " are but idle reports, neither has any Christian been " convicted of any crime) it belongs to you, most ex-" cellent princes, to vindicate us from this injury, " fince over the world, both private perfons and pub-" lick cities and communities enjoy benefits under your " government; fo let us have occasion to give thanks " to you, and rejoice that we are vindicated from fuch " calumnies.— † There is an infamous report, that we " are guilty of three great crimes, of impiety against the "Gods, of Thyestean feasts, that is, feeding on mur-" dered infants, and of incestuous copulations. If these " be true, spare no sex, no age, punish us with our " wives and children, extirpate us out of the world, " if any among us live as beafts, tho' even beafts do ee not

^{*} Legatio pro Christianis, Pag. 3, 4. † Athenagoras, Ibid. Cap. 4.

Chap. 5. to the Accusations of the Heathens. 49 or not these abominable things; but if any man be baser than a beast, to commit such wickedness, let him be punished for it. But if these be forged and " fcandalous calumnies of wicked men from malice against the truth, notice them as such. Enquire into our life, into our opinions, into our obedience to " authority, our concern for your person and government; allow us but the common justice and equity "you grant your enemies, we ask no more, and we " are affured of the victory, being willing to lay down " our lives for the truth." But so clear was their innocency, that their enemies durft not let them come to a fair open trial. " If you are certain, fays Ter-" tullian to the heathens *, we are guilty, why then " are we not treated in the fame way with the male-" factors? who are allowed by themselves and their advocates, to defend their innocency, to answer and ". put in pleas, it being unlawful to condemn any, " before they be heard and have liberty to defend "themselves. But Christians only are not permitted " to speak any thing that might clear their cause, "defend their innocency, or prevent the judge to give 'Tis enough to justify the pub-" an unjust sentence. " lick odium, that we confess our name, a Christian, without ever examining the crime, contrary to the " form of proceedure with other delinquents; 'tis not " fufficient to charge them to be murderers, facrile-"gious, or incestuous, or enemies to the publick, the " titles you are pleased to bestow upon us, unless they " have the quality of the fact, place, manner, time, " partners, and accessories under examination. But " no fuch favour is shown to us, we are condemned " without any inquisition past upon us: where was ever " our murdering of children, feasting on them, or our " incestuous mixtures proved? Were no men, cooks, "dogs, witnesses? How great should the honour of "that judge be, who had proved any fuch fact?" This proceedure one would think strange, among a people

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^{*} Apolog. Cap. 1,2. Operum Pag. m. 18. Vol. II.

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people fo renowned for justice as the Romans, yet in these times nothing more ordinary; they were con. demned only for being Christians. The same Tertullian fays, it was commonly in their enemies mouths t Cajus Sejus is a good man, only be is a Christian; or, I wonder at Lucius a good man, but lately turn'd a Christian. But the innocency of these faints supported them against the unjust calumnies, and cruel perfecu-

tions of their adversaries.

Thirdly, They appealed, for their vindication, to the judgment and conscience of their more sober and impartial enemies, and were acquitted by them as not guilty of any fuch heinous crimes. Pliny the younger being appointed by Trajan the emperor to give him an account of the Christians, tells him *, after the best estimate be could make, and the strictest inquisition be could take by tortures, (he being then proconful in Bithynia) be found no worse of them, than that they were wont to meet early for performing solemn devotions, and bind themselves under the most sacred obligations to commit no via nor wickedness, and that their Religion was nothing else but an untoward and immoderate superstition. After him, Serenius Granianus proconful of Asia writes to the emperor Adrian, Trajan's successor, to represent to him t, How unjust it was to put Christians to death, when no crime was duly laid to their charge, merely to gratify the tumultuous clamours of the people. To whom the emperor answers, That they should not be unjustly troubled, but if any thing was truly proved against them, be should punish them according to the nature of their fault; but if done out of malice or spite, be should then punish the accuser as a calumniator. -- Next to Adrian, Antoninus Pius, in his epistle to the Commons of Afia, tells them |, They had traduced the Christians, and had objested those crimes to them which they could not prove; that

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‡ Apolog. Cap. 3. Pag. 20. * Epist. Lib. 10. Epist. 97.

[†] Apud Eusebium Hist. Eccl. Lib. 4. Cap. 8, 9.

| Justin Martyr, Apolog. 2. Operum Pag. 100.

Supra, Vol. 1. Cap. 3.

Chap. 5. to the Accusations of the Heathens. 51 that they were more firm and undaunted in their profession than themselves, and bad a greater freedom and considence towards God; and therefore he resolved to ratify and follow the determination of his fathers. After him comes M. Antoninus, who having obtained the fignal victory against the Quades in Germany, confesses in his letter to the fenate ‡, "That it was obtained by the prayers of the Christian Legion which was in his army, (as has been formerly more fully illustrated **,) " and there-" fore commands, that none be molested for being ⁶⁶ Christians, and that if any accuse a Christian for being fuch, without any sufficient crime proved " against him, he shall be burned alive for his accufation. But a Christian, confessing himself to be one. " shall be fafe and secure, and the governour of the " province shall not drive him to renounce his profes-" fion. And this he commands to be confirmed by " the decree of the fenate." So clear did the Christians appear to their greatest enemies, in their more calm and fober intervals. Even Trypho the Jew, his very nation speaks him enemy enough, confesses them clear of these foul aspersions: * " When Justin Martyr had " asked him, if he really believed the Christians did " eat man's flesh, and putting out candles ran together " in promiscuous mixtures? the Jew answers, These "things, whereof they were accused by many, were " unworthy of belief, being extremely abhorrent to " human nature; and that the precepts commanded in " their Gospel, which curiosity had prompted him to " read, were fo great and admirable, that he supposed " no man could be able to keep and obey them." nally, the heathen oracle itself pronounced in favour of the Christians +; for Apollo giving forth his oracles, not as he was wont by human voice, but out of a dark and difmal cavern, confessed, It was because of just menthat lived upon the earth: And when Dioclesian enquired,

‡ Justin Martyr, Apolog. 2. Pag. 101, 102.

** Supra, Vol. 1. Cap. 3.

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^{*} Justin Martyr Dialog. cum Tryphone, Operum Pag. 227. † Euseb. de Vita Constantini, Lib. 2. Cap. 45.

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who these just men were? one of the heathen priests that stood by answered, That they were the Christians. This Constantine the Great fays, he himself heard, being then a young man, and in company with that emperor; and he folemnly calls God to witness for the truth of the flory. From the whole it appears, that even by the confession of enemies, the Christians were innocent of those things the Gentiles charged upon them. Origen triumphs in the innocency of their lives, faying ||, The churches of God which had embraced the discipline of Christ, if compared to the common societies of men, were among them like lights in the world; for who is there but be must confess, the worser part of our church is better than the popular affemblies? The church of God at Athens is meek and quiet, approving itself to the great God; whereas the popular affembly at Athens is seditious and tumultuous. The same may be said of the churches of God, and the vulgar affemblies at Corinth or Alexandria. Thus, Minutius Felix fays to the heathen ‡, " Should " we Christians be compared with you, tho' our disci-" pline should feem somewhat inferior, yet we shall 66 be found infinitely to transcend you. You forbid " adultery, and then practife it, we keep intirely by " our own wives; you punish wickedness when com-" mitted, with us even a wicked thought is fin; you " stand in awe of those who are conscious of your " crimes, we of nothing but our own consciences, " without which we cannot be. In fine, 'tis with " your party the prisons are filled with criminals; no " Christian is there, unless he be either a shame to " his Religion, or an apostate from it." And a little after he tells his * adverfary " how much they ex-" ceeded the best of philosophers, whom they knew to " be wicked men, adulterers, and tyrannical, eloquent " to declaim against those vices of which themselves " were most guilty: But we Christians do not measure " wisdom by mens clothes, but by their mind; we

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‡ Pag. mihi 81. * Minutius Felix, Pag. 88.

^{||} Contra Celfum, Lib. 3. Pag. 128, 129.

Chap.s. to the Accusations of the Heathens. 53 " do not speak great things, but live them; having " this to boaft, we really attain to those things which " they earnestly fought, but could not find." In another place, the fame author + speaking of the crimes the heathens objected to the Christians, fays, "None " would believe us guilty of these crimes, but those who dare commit them themselves. I see you hea-"thens expose your young infants to be devoured by " birds and wild beafts, and fometimes strangle and "kill them with miserable deaths; your women drink " medicaments to destroy the birth, being guilty of " parricide before they bring forth. And this they de-" fend by the doctrine of their Gods, for Saturn ex-" posed and also devoured his own Children; to him " in some parts of Africa parents facrifice their chil-" dren, with kiffes keeping down their cries, left a " weeping facrifice should be offered. It was the " custom of Tauris, Pontus, and the Egyptian Busiris, to " facrifice their guests; the Gauls offer human or rather " inhuman facrifices. Even the Romans kill a living "Greek man or Greek woman, a Gaul or a Gaulish " woman; and Jupiter Latialis is at this day worshipped " by homicide, a facrifice worthy of the fon of Saturn.— " But we Christians will neither see nor hear of homicide, " our Religion is to live without fpot or blemish." Therefore Eusebius tells us ||, That the Christian Faith had, by gravity, fincerity, modelty and holiness of life, conquered all opposition; that none durst bespatter or charge it with any of those calumnies, which the ancient enemies of our Religion used to fasten upon it. And Tertullian openly declares ‡, That when men depart from the discipline of the Gospel, they so far cease among us to be accounted Christians; we necessarily defire and study piety and virtue, that we may secure our own falvation. He who defires to fee more of the primitive Christians, their piety to God, sobriety toward themselves, and righteousness to their neighbours, may E 3

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[†] Ibid. Pag. 69, 70. || Hift. Eccl. Lib. 4. Cap. 7. | Apolog. Cap. 46, Pag. 52.

Before I conclude this chapter, I shall discourse a little of the abominable vices and extravagancies of the best of the heathens, even of the Romans themselves. I have before spoke of their idolatry, polytheism, worship of demons, human facrifices, their obscene worthip of Priapus, Berycinthia, and others, and of their vain divinations, confulting devils, in the fecond chapter of this treatife, and in this; and also of their cruelty to Jews and Christians, manifested in the several perfecutions, of which in the third chapter; and of Julian's methods to restore Paganism, in the fourth chapter: none of which shall be now repeated. But their cruelty may further appear in the civil wars of Marius and Sylla, Cæsar and Pompey, in their tumults and feditions, of which the Roman history is full; in the emperors most arbitrarily murdering their subjects without any ground or reason, of which Tacitus and Suetonius give many instances; and, which was more peculiar to them, in the fword-fights of their gladiators upon the theatres, which were first exhibited by Junius Brutus in honour of his father's funerals; but, as Peter Martyr observes, not to please his father's manes or ghost, but rather to please the devil. Afterward these hired gladiators became very common; Cæfar in his Ædileship exhibited 320 pair; Trajan, by the space of 123 days without intermission, exhibited ten thousand. No war made fuch havock of mankind as these games of pleasure; the Romans had theatres and amphitheatres where an hundred thousand persons might behold them, and with a brutish fatisfaction see men murder one another, and fall like victims to their demons. These games were decryed by the pens of the first Christian writers, as Lactantius *, Tertullian +, Cyprian ||, and afterward by the laws of Constantine the

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Epist. ad Donatum.

^{*} Libro 6. de Vero Cultu, Cap. 20. Pag. m. 553. † De Spectaculis, Operum Pag. 151, & feq.

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Great *, and other Christian emperors who succeeded him +, banished out of the world. Not only were the Romans unmerciful, in exposing themselves to death on their theatres by encountring men and beafts, but also by holding it lawful, yea, in some cases, commendable to lay violent hands upon themselves, extinguishing the lamp of their own lives, of which I have given many documents already | Now, beside that this is inhuman and most contrary to the laws of God, what courage is it for a man to turn away from mifery, that he dare not look death or dangers in the face? What wisdom to commend fubjects for dispatching themselves at their own pleasure? To rob the state of a member, and perhaps of a serviceable one too, as Cato was? What justice for men, thro' weakness of mind, or strength of passion incapable of reason, to pass sentence, and do execution against themselves? Yea, what impiety is in it to go off the world finning against God in the most horrid manner, renouncing that love they ought by the law of nature to have for themselves? Which should teach them to preferve the Being God has given in order The Romans also, by the laws of to a well-being. Romulus the founder of their state, as reported by Dionysius Halicarnasseus ‡, were allowed to expose some of their children: He ordained, fays that author, That every male should be educated, and of the females the first-born, and that no child should be put to death before three years of age, except they were maimed or monsters from their birth; he ordered such should be exposed, yet not before the parents did shew it to five men of their neighbours, who should approve of it. Seneca fays **, We kill monstrous births; nay, our very children, if they be weak and deformed, we cast them forth. I might also discourse of the excessive covetousness of the Romans, of their robbing and spoiling the provinces, of their monstrous uncleanness of all kinds, of their luxury

^{*} Euseb. de Vita Constantini, Lib. 4. Cap. 24.

⁺ Codex Theodosii, Lib. 15. tir. 5. De Spectaculis.

Supra, Vol. 1. Cap. 1.

[‡] Antiq. Rom. Lib. 2. cap. 15. Pag. m. 86. ** De Ira.

in diet and apparel, in eating and drinking, in retinues of their fervants, in furniture of their houses, bathing and anointing their bodies, prodigality in gifts, and in fetting forth plays and theatrical shows, arrogancy and vain-glory; in all which their excess was incredible: but particular infifting on these, is not necessary to my purpose. The wickedness and folly of the impious superstition of the Gentiles, and the great bleffing of the Christian Religion in delivering us from it, is evident from what is already faid. They who are curious to know more of these vices among the ancient Romans, may read Meursius de Luxu Romanorum, and Hackwell's Apology for the power and providence of God in the government of the world, Book IV.

If it be objected, How can these things be charged on the ancient Romans, who were renowned for justice, wisdom and courage? I answer with Lastantius *, Dare these wicked men mention their justice, who

exceed favage beafts in cruelty; like ravening wolves, " who in a cloudy day are driven forth by the rage of

se their bellies to feek their prey? But these men are " enraged not with greedy appetites, but with cruel

hearts; neither are they afraid of darkness, but com-

mit devastation with open violence; nor are they ever " touched with a remorfe of conscience, for profaning

the holy and divine name of justice, with mouths

" much like those of wild beafts, polluted with the

" blood of innocents." Again, he fays +, 'Tis not

46 difficult to tell, why the worshippers of the heathen

"Gods cannot be good and just men. How should " they abstain from blood, who worship such bloody

"Gods as Mars and Bellona? How should they

" fpare their parents, who worship Jupiter, who ba" nished his father out of heaven? Or spare their

" children, who adore Saturn, who devoured his own

" children? How shall they preserve chastity, who worship a naked and adulterous Goddess, a com-

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^{*} Lib. 5. de Justitia, Cap. 9. Pag. m. 418. † Lactantius ubi supra, Cap. 10. Pag. 425.

Chap. 5. The Folly of Paganism.

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mon proftitute? How shall they abstain from " robbery and cheating, who are acquainted with the thefts of Mercury, teaching, That to deceive is not " fraud, but cunning? How shall they bridle their lust, who adore Jupiter, Hercules, Bacchus, Apollo, and " the rest of that tribe, whose adulteries and uncleanness with males and females, are not only known to " the learned, but are acted and fung in their theatres, so that they may be known to all? Is it possible for men in this case to be just, who, tho' they were " naturally well disposed, yet, by the examples of 66 their very gods, are taught to commit unrighteouf-" ness? For, to please the deity you worship, 'tis 66 necessary you do those things wherein they delight, " imitation being the most religious kind of worship." Lest the Christians should be blamed for any of these crimes, he fays further *, " They are none of our peo-" ple, but yours, who rob on the highways, and turn " pyrates by fea; or if open violence will not ferve " their turn, they prepare poisons, they make away 55 their wives, that they may get their dowries; or " their husbands, that they may marry their adulterers; who either itrangle their infants, or, if they be more devout, expose them; who forbear not " inceltuous lults with their own daughters, filters or " mothers, or with their confecrated virgins; who con-" spire against their own country; and finally, who " commit facrilege, and rob the very temples of " those gods they worship. Not to speak of crimes " you think less of, who supplant heirs, forge testaments, profittute their bodies to unnatural lufts, cut " off their virilities, that they may be priefts of their " own religion; who fell themselves to death; who " corrupt judges to absolve the guilty; who seek hea-" ven by witchcraft and charming, because the earth " is not able to bear their wickedness. Thele, and " many more crimes are committed by those who " worship your gods, and why should you boast of your " righteousness? I have collected but a few of your faults,

^{*} Lactantius ubi supra, cap. 9. pag. 420. & seq.

" faults, not to censure, but to manifest them. They who desire to understand more, let them take into their hands the books of Seneca, who truly describes,

and justly censures their publick manners and vices; and of Lucilius, who describes their abominable

" hidden life.—But to our people, that is, the Chri-

" stians, none of these things can be objected, whose

" religion is to live without fpot and blemish."

As to their pretended wisdom, I answer with the fame Lastantius*; All the wisdom of man consists in this alone, To know and worship God: this is our dostrine, this is our opinion, and this, with as loud a voice as I can, I testify, profess and proclaim. This is what all the philosophers, during their whole life, sought, but could never find out, comprehend, nor attain to; because they either retained a corrupt religion, or had none at all. Let them all then be gone, who do not instruct, but disturb buman life. How can they teach others, who are not instructed themselves? How can they heal the sick or guide the blind? I have translated these passages more fully, because they shew the wickedness of Paganism, and the reasonings of the primitive Christians against it, which is what I proposed in this chapter. To what we have offered from Lastantius, may be added, How can they be counted wife, who worthipped stocks and stones, the work of their own hands; or fuch a rabble of filthy gods, and that in fuch a vile, cruel manner, like men void of common reason? Who suffered the vices of their deities to be described by their poets, acted by their players, drawn to life by their painters, whom they rewarded for their pains, as if they defigned to instruct youth in vice? Who wasted such masses of treasure in buildings, feasts, profane shews; who gave way to men to murder themselves on all occasions, yea, exhorted them to it? Who by fword-fighters and wild-beafts devoured fo many millions of people, as might have ferved to enlarge or preferve their empire? Finally, how can they be counted wife, who profesting

^{*} De falsa Sapientia, lib.3. cap.30. pag.290. Edit. Paris 1545.

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to train up their citizens to a military course of life, yet suffered them to wallow in all kinds of luxury?

As to the pretended fortitude of the Romans, be that as it will, it makes not their religion the better: but even as to that fortitude, whereby they subdued a great part of the then known world, many of their own writers afcribe this fuccess to fortune, tho' we may more justly ascribe it to the Providence of God; who, for effectuating his own purposes, probably unknown to them, rather than for any extraordinary merit in them, conferred on them the empire of the world. The Emperor Augustus settled an universal peace in the empire, then the Prince of Peace was born: Divine Providence might bring the world under the Roman Government, subject to their laws, and acquainted with their language, that the Gospel might have an easier course, than if the world had been parcell'd out in little kingdoms; yea, when the Emperors became Christians, the propagation of the kingdom of Christ, and the establishment of the Church, might be more easily accomplished. But the Romans having no right, nor lawful title to those nations they subdued, we cannot justly call their strength in conquering them Fortitude; take away the justice of the cause, what is the acquisition of kingdoms but a great robbery? unless we should fay, the killing or robbing of one man is a fin, but of many a virtue. Galgacus our countryman, fays of the Romans*, Robbers of the world they are; after they have laid all places waste, so as they have no more land to subdue, they search over the sea; if the enemy be rich, their covetousness invites to invade bim; if poor, their ambition: so as neither east nor west can satisfy their infatiable appetite. They covet the riches and poverty of all places; they rob, kill and steal to enlarge their empire, and when they have turned the country to a defart, then they say, 'Tis peace. Lastantius says +, They account the overthrow of cities and states their greatest glory; they cannot endure the publick tranquillity, they rob and

^{*} Apud Tacitum in vita Agricolæ, Operum pag.m.671.

† De falfa Religione, Nb. 1. cap. 18. pag. 76.

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spoil, and insolently offering injuries violate the league of human society, that they may have an enemy, whom they more wickedly destroy than they have unjustly provoked. After all, the Christians in suffering for religion with an undaunted mind, shew'd more true fortitude, than ever the Romans, or than all the Heathens in the world.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Propagation of Christianity, and Overthrow of Paganism, from the fifth to the fifteenth Century.

W E have seen the wickedness and folly of paganism in the former chapter, now we proceed with the history of its overthrow, and the enlarging of the kingdom of Christ over the world. This we have observed happily begun, when, in the third and fourth chapters of this essay, we deduced the history of the propagation of Christianity, from the beginning of the first, to the end of the fourth century; where the many great and weighty affairs upon record in those times, obliged us to be more prolix. Now we may see the propagation of our religion advanced, but the paucity of affairs relating to our subject allows us to take several centuries into one chapter.

In the beginning of the fifth century, Honorius emperor in the west, in the year of our Lord 401*, granted the ground heretosore belonging to Pagan temples, and which served to no more publick use or ornament of the city, to the Curiales and corporations, under several clauses and conditions. Seven years after, he ordered, that the corn usually paid to the temples, should be taken away, and bestowed upon the soldiers; that if any images were left in temples, groves or other places, they should be removed; the temples themselves, whether in cities, villages, or in

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^{*} Codex Theodossi, lib. 16. Tit. 10. + Ibid. Tit. 10. Lege 19.

the open fields, be converted to publick uses; those that flood within the emperor's patrimony, should be put to some convenient use; those within the possesfions of private persons, to be destroyed; altars to be every where demolished; all pagan feasts, sports and folemnities to be put down; that the bishops of the feveral places should have power to see this done, and a fevere fine fet upon the heads of all judges and officers, that neglected the execution thereof. He also ordered *, that none, who were enemies to the catholick church, should bear arms within the palace, nor be nearly employed under the prince, who refused to be of the fame law and religion with him; which equally struck at heathens and hereticks. This and the former law both bearing date from the confulfhip of Baffus and Philippus, are Anno Dom. 408. The next year, he banished the Mathematici, that is, all Haruspices, Magicians, and the rest of that divining tribe, out of Rome and all other cities of the empire, unless they should bring the books of their curious arts, and burn them in presence of the bishop of the place, and engage never to return to their old errors.

Theodosius the younger, who had some years before this, succeeded his father Arcadius in the eastern empire, did, Anno Dom. 416, by a law, order, that Gentiles polluted with the profane crime of paganism, should be incapable of bearing arms, or being admitted into the office of administrator or judge, or any other honour +. Seven years after he speaks of Pagans, as if there were none remaining; Paganos qui supersunt, quanquam jam nullos effe credamus: but if they were, the former laws should be revived against them ||. If they be taken offering execrable facrifices to Demons, tho' they ought to be subjected to capital punishment, let them only be restrained by banishment and confiscation of goods. These laws bear date from the confulship of Marinianus and Asclepiodotus, which coincides with Anno Dom. 423. In the year 426, he once

*Codex Theodofii, Tit. 5. Lege 42.

[†] Ibid. Lib. 16. Tit. 10. Lege 21. | Ibid. Legibus 22, 23.

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more forbad all pagan oblations * and facrifices, with all their rites and mysteries; and if any of their temples, chapels or confecrated places were yet standing, the magistrate should strip them of their superstitious use, by placing a cross upon them; and, if any were found guilty to have facrificed, or to have contravened this law, before a competent judge, he should forfeit his life. This, it feems, was a parting blow; nor do we meet with any thing further, concerning these matters, in the imperial laws. The nations which we find converted after this, were for the most part without the empire, or barbarous people, who had over-run and difmembred it. Now, by the light of the Word of God, accompanied by the power of his Spirit, the evidence of the Christian Religion was so plainly discovered, and fo well supported by the imperial laws, that heathenism dwindled into nothing; and that little that was left, crept into holes and corners, to hide its head, as had been foretold by the prophet Isaiah, ii,

Tho' the church, in this age laboured under many evils, by the increase of error, schism and division, yet we find some heathen nations added to the church, and converted to Christianity. Socrates gives the following account of the conversion of the Burgundians: he says +,

"There is a barbarous nation living beyond the Rhine, called the Burgundians, they lead a rustick

" life, working in wood, by which they gain their

bread; the Huns make frequent incursions into their

" country, laying it waste, and killing many people. In these circumstances they don't seek the help of

" man, but refolve to betake themselves to the pro-

" tection of some god or other. Being informed, that

" the God whom the Romans worshipped, does affist

"those who trust in him, they with one consent de-

" termine to believe on Christ. Thus resolved, they

" come to a city of Gaul, asking the bishop to admit them to baptism, who orders them to fast seven

" days,

^{*} Codex Theodofii, Lege 25.

[†] Socrates Hist. Eccles. lib. 7. cap. 30.

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"days, and be instructed in the faith, and upon the eighth day he baptizes and dismisses them. This being done, they conceive good hopes of overcoming their tyrannical oppressors; nor are they disappointed, for Uptarus king of the Huns, having killed himself by excess and gluttony, the Burgundians observing their enemies without a general, attack them, and the inferior in number, being but three thousand against twenty thousand, yet they came off conquerors; and from that time, they with great zeal and chearfulness, embraced and professed Christianity." This, according to Socrates, was in the thirteenth consulship of Theodosius, and third of Valentinian, that is, Anno Dom. 430.

In this century Palladius was sent by the bishop of Rome to the Scots, who believed on Christ, says Prosper*; there was a Christian church with us in Scotland, two hundred years before his coming: for Tertullian, who wrote about the end of the second century, says †, "Those places of Britain that were inaccessible to the Roman armies, have yielded subjection unto Christ." Our # Historians affert, That King Donald was the first of the Scottish Kings who embraced Christianity; which was received here by authority, about the 187th year of the Christian Æra: but the he and many of his nobles did make profession thereof, they could not wholly extirpate Heathenism.

The main design of Palladius's mission, was to oppose Pelagianism, which had crept in here, tho' he is also said to have converted some to the Christian Faith.

St. Patrick, a Scots man, is faid by Sigebert to have converted Ireland to Christianity, about the year 432. No doubt, the conversion of these Irish natives, was a matter

^{*} Prosperi Chronicon ad annum 434. fol. 92. ad Scotos in Christum credentes ordinatur a papa Celestino Palladius, & primus episcopus mittitur.

⁺ Adversus Judæos, cap. 7. operum pag. 98. + Boethius, Buchanani Historia, pag. 115.

Sigebert ad annum 432.

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matter of great difficulty, fince, as Jerome tells us f. They had no such thing as any property in marriage, but as if they had been governed by Plato's commonwealth, or Cato's extravagance, there was a perfect community of women among them, their inclination being under no better regulation in these matters, than those of the brutes. He fays, He had seen these Irish feed upon buman stell in Gaul, and notwithstanding the country was sufficiently stocked with mutton, yet if they could surprize a shepherd, and rob him of his baunches, or cut off a woman's breaks, they used to make a meal on't, and think themselves extraordinarily regaled. The writers of St. Patrick's life, Probus, Jocelin, Geraldus, Cambrensis, and others, report a great many miracles performed by him, which I shall not trouble my reader with; all that I remark concerning his life is, That he was born at Kilpatrick, in our country, nine miles from Glasgow; he became a disciple to St. Martin of Tours, his uncle by the mother's fide | : upon the death of Palladius, he was fent to Ireland, with twenty clergymen, all to be employed in the same work of converting that country; he is faid to have founded a church at Ardmagh in Ulster, Anno Dom. 445, and another at Dublin in Leinster, and many more, (Nennius makes them three hundred and fixty five;) and to have laboured fixty years in the conversion of the natives, and to have died when very old.

In the same age, the conversion of Clovis king of France is very remarkable. From his infancy he was a pagan idolater, but his wife Clotildis was a pious, good woman; she often exhorted the king her husband to leave his heathenish idolatry, and embrace the truth of the Christian Religion, but without success; till he being engaged in a battle against the Germans, his army put to the worst, and in great distress, destitute of human help, he lifts his hands to heaven and prays, O Lord Jesus, whom my wife Clotildis adores, I most earnestly

Spanhemii Hift. Christiana in Folio, Col 959.

⁺ Hieronymus adversus Jovin. lib. 2. See Collier's Eccl. Hist. of Britain, vol. 1. pag. 51.

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earnestly implore thy belp, and if thou shalt make me conquer in this battel, thou shalt be my God; I'll believe in thy name, I'll worship and serve thee: I'll attend thy ordinances, and be baptized in thy name. As foon as he had prayed thus, the Alemanni or Germans were put to flight; the king enjoy'd a great victory; which he having obtained by the strength of Christ, he calls for Rhemigius bishop of Rheims, and was baptized, with many of his subjects, on the eve of Christmas, 496*, in the fifteenth year of his reign. This is at large related by Gregory of Tours +, and by Hincmarus in the life of Rhemigius of Rheims, and from them, by many others. More than three thousand Franks are said to have been converted with their king, and two of his fifters, Abolfeda, who from a Gentile became a Christian, and Landechildis, who from an Arian turned Catholick. Hence, as Spanbeim conceives ||, the kings of France are called the eldest sons of the church, because, first of all the kings in the West, they embraced Christianity as free of Arianism; tho' I nothing doubt, but there were Christian kings in the West before his time: and tho' he and his fuccessors get the title of the first Christian king by the church of Rome, yet there were Christian churches in Gaul before him, and Christian bishops, as Hilary of Poictiers, Paulinus of Triers, and Martin of Tours, in the fourth century, and many councils held there, after that of Arles in 314; as the ecclefialtick annals, tomes of councils, and the writings of Hilary, Sulpicius Severus, Ausonius, Gregory of Tours, and others, do declare.

I proceed now to the fixth Century, tho' both in this and the former, paganism did dwindle into nothing, and there were few that professed it in the whole *Roman* Empire; yet we find some men of learning still addicted

Sp anheim. ubi supra, col. 9613

^{*} Spanhemii Hist. Christiana, col. 960. † Historia Francorum, lib. 2. cap. 30, 31. Vide Cent. Magdeb. vol. 2. cent. 5. cap. 2. pag. 13.

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to it, as Proclus a Platonick philosopher and eminent mathematician; 'tis faid, when Vitalian laid fiege to Constantinople, he burned his ships with great brazen looking-glaffes, as Archimedes had done with the Roman ships at Syracuse: he writ against the Christian Religion. Priscian a grammarian, who flourished under the emperor Justinian, at Constantinople: Trebonius a lawyer, but a wicked pagan, and very covetous *: and Anatolius, of whom Evagrius fays, That the he was an obscure man, yet was advanced to the government in Antioch, by Gregory the bishop; but being found to facrifice to idols, and further examined, he was difcovered to be a vile charmer, and fent to Constantinople, where he was killed by wild-beafts, on the theatre, and his body being hung up, was devoured by wolves +. If the historians Procopius and Agathius were Christians or not, is counted by the learned Spanheim very dubious ‡.

Notwithstanding these bad men, (indeed there are too many such in every age) yet the Church was then fully planted with bishops and pastors, whose names we may find in the great collection of councils made by Binnius and others; and in their acclamations and subscriptions to the canons of these councils; and large catalogues of them are gathered by the Magdeburgick Centuriators, so as it seems not necessary

here to give a rehearfal of them.

But my design obliges me to give account of the Propagation of Christianity among pagan nations, tho' I am not to enlarge upon each of them, when the records, concerning their conversion, are so very short. It is reported, that in this century, Almundurus a prince of the Saracens was converted by Severus a monk state that Zathus a prince of the Colchians, embraced Christianity; he came to Constantinople, and desired baptism, with some of his subjects, about the year 522; the emperor Justin receiv'd him kindly, and married him to a noble virgin; which occasioned some difference betwixt

^{*} Hottinger Hist. Eccl. parte prima, pag. 333.—

+ Evagrii Hist. Eccl. lib. 5 cap. 18.

+ Hist. Christiana, col. 1168.

| Hottinger Hist. Eccl. parte prima, pag. 318. & 335.

Chap. 6. Propagation of Christianity. the Roman and Persian emperors. Brudæus a king of

the Piets in our country, was converted by the famous

Columba, who kept his monaftery at Icolmkil*.

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Adad king of Ethiopia, being engaged in a dangerous war with the king of the Homerites, vowed, that if he were conqueror, be would embrace the Christian Religion. Having obtain'd the victory, taken Damianus king of the Homerites prisoner, and reduced much of his country, he sent embasfadors to the emperor Justinian, about the year 541, praying to fend him bishops and teachers, to instruct himself and his people in the Christian Faith, and turn them from idolatry. In answer to this petition, the emperor fent him Mansionarius, a venerable man, and some others, who planted the Christian Religion in his country; that is, in Ethiopia bordering upon India, for Nicephorus Calistus + calls him an Indian king.

Some other nations are also recorded to have renounced Idolatry, and embraced Christianity in this century; as the Heruli, of whom Evagrius reports, that they passed the river Danube, in the reign of the emperor Anastasius, and were afterwards kindly treated by Justinian, who gave them a great sum of money, and they all turned Christians, and embraced a more mild and regular course of Life | . This he hath from Procopius, who tells the same story more fully, saying ‡, "The Herulians, "formerly inhabiting beyond the Ister, that is, the " Danube, ferved many Gods, holding it no impiety " to appeale them with human facrifices: They had " laws differing from other men; when their people " grew fick and aged, not like to live, they entreated " their kindred to put them out of the world; when " an Herulian died, his wife, if she would be thought " virtuous, was to kill herfelf over her husband's tomb, " otherwise she was esteemed infamous, and an enemy " to her husband's kindred—When Justinian came " to the empire, he gave them a good country to live

‡ De Bello Gothico, lib. a. cap. 11. page 52.

^{*} Usserii Antiq. Ecclesiarum Britan. page 961. Dr. Mackenzie's Scots Writers, Life of Columba.

⁺ Hist. Eccl. lib. 17. cap. 36. | Evagrius, lib.4. cap.20.

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"in, and the possession of goods; and making them his allies, he persuaded them to be Christians." Upon this they became more civil, and applied themselves to the laws of the Christian Religion, serving the Romans as auxiliaries: "But still, says our author, they are false to us, and covetous, thinking no shame to wrong

" their neighbours." The Abafgi, a people in Scythia, about the same time embraced the Christian Religion; the emperor Justinian fent one Euphantas an eunuch, a countryman of their own, to warn them, not to make any incision upon their bodies; he caused to be erected a church to the virgin Mary among them, and gave them priefts to instruct them more fully in the doctrine of the Christian Religion*. Procopius, whom we have lately named, fenator and prefect in Constantinople, and secretary to Belifarius, in his wars, gives the following account of these Abasgi: " Their country, says he +, lies beyond se Aphilia, near the Caucafian mountains; they were " formerly subject to the Lazians, and had princes of "their own nation; they did worship, till my time, groves and woods, and in a barbarous simplicity efteemed trees to be Gods; they suffered much from "the covetousness of their princes, who took violently from the parents fuch children as were beautiful, " made them eunuchs, and then fold them to the Romans at a great price, killing the fathers, left they " might revenge the abuse done to their children; and thus the poor wretches were ruined, by the fatal " handsomeness of their own off-spring: hence most of " the eunuchs in the Imperial palace were Abasgians. "But in the reign of Justinian, all this has been changed to advantage; they have receiv'd the Christian Re-" ligion, and the emperor fent Euphantas an eunuch, " expressly to admonish their princes, no more to " force away the virility of human nature with iron. "Upon this injunction, the Abasgians abandoned that " practice, which made it formerly their great fear, to

^{*} Evagrius, lib. 4. cap 22.

⁺ De Bello Gothico, lib. 11. cap. 2. pag. mihi 121, 122.

be fathers to handsome sons. The emperor also built for them a church, dedicated to the mother of God: " appointed them priefts to instruct them in the Chri-" stian Rites; and they deposed their princes, and be-" came a free state." Some of the inhabitants of greater Armenia, called afterward Pefarmenia, who had been subject to the Persian Idolaters, who oppressed them because they were Christians, revolted from the Persians, and submitted to Justin the Christian emperor, who protected them in the free exercise of their

religion *.

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Notwithstanding this progress Christianity made, 'tis to be acknowledged, the Christians in this age suffered very hard things. Chofroes king of Persia, whose country was then heathen, worshipping the sun +, broke his league with the emperor Justinian, and invaded Asia with a great army | : the city Hierapolis gave him two thousand pound weight of filver, which amounts to five thousand, two hundred and fifty pounds sterling, in our money, to be free of his oppression. Berrhæa gave him the like fum, and because they could give him no more, he took and ranfacked their city, carrying off many of the inhabitants prisoners. He affaulted the great city Antioch, and carried it by storm, where he put many of the citizens to the fword, made the remainder flaves, plundered the city of its riches, and then fet it on flames. He also exacted great sums from the towns of Apamæa, Edessa, and several others. In Europe and Africa, the Christians suffered very much, by the inundation and wars of the barbarous nations. But'tis not my defign, here to give account of the fufferings of Christians, nor of the decay of Christianity, but rather of its progress and successover heathenish infidelity.

If we go upon the conversion of the English Saxons in this century, I conceive it will be proper to look a little backward, and remark, that Britain is faid to have been early converted to Christianity; some conceive by the

^{*} Evagrius, lib. 5. cap. 7.

⁺ See Chap. 2. of the Persian Idolatry.

Procopius de Bello Pertico, lib. 2. cap. 4. & sequentibus.

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Apostle Paul, because Clemens his cotemporary, in his excellent epiftle to the Corinthians, fays*, This Apostle preached the Gospel both in the East and West; he taught righteousness to the whole world, and went to the utmost bounds of the West, επι το τερμα της δυσεώς. Theodoret fays +, That Paul brought salvation to the isles of the sea, that lie in the ocean; and, that after his release at Rome, he went to Spain, and from thence carried the light of the Gospel to other nations ||. And it appears more likely, that he should then travel into these Western parts, than return back into the East, where he had taken so much pains to spread the Gospel before. And Ferome fays t, That having been in Spain, be went from one ocean to anonother, imitating the motion and course of the sun of righteousness, of whom 'tis said, his going forth is from the end of beaven, and his circuit unto the ends of it; his diligence in preaching extended as far as the earth itself; be preached the Gospel in the Western parts. Bishop Stilling fleet hath fairly made it out **, that this Apostle had leisure and opportunity enough to have come hither, and that here was encouragement enough for him to come. But whofoever was the first publisher of the Christian Religion in this land, we have reason to take notice of it as a singular mercy, that it came hither fo foon: especially, fince the Britons, before they were civilized by the Gospel, were very rude and barbarous; they offered up human facrifices. Gildas tells us, That their idols were more numerous than those of Egypt, and strangely featured, and that some of them continued in his days; and their manners were most impure. Julius Cæsar, as Tacitus observes, rather shew'd this country to the Romans, than subdued it. In the time of Augustus, in whose reign our Saviour was born, the Britons fent prefents to the Capitol; but no Roman garrifons or colonies were fixed here, nor magistrates and jurisdictions settled, as

^{*} Clementis Romani Epistola, pag. m. 14. + Theodoret, Tom. 1. in Pfal. 116. pag. 870.

^{||} In 2 Timothy 4. 17. ‡ In Amos, cap. 5. Operum Tom. 6. fol. m. 43.

in other parts of the empire. But the emperor Claudius came to that part of Britain, now called England, in person, and reduced the country into the form of a province, under A. Plautius his lieutenant; from that time the country became Roman. While things were in this state, there was the less danger of opposition in attempting to spread Christianity: The British captives at Rome, who were converts, would, in all probability, forward the christianizing their native country. And if Claudia, the wife of Pudens the Roman fenator, was she that was spoken of by St. Paul, and Pomponia Gracina, wife to A. Plautius the lieutenant, was also a Christian, as is most likely from the character given of her by Tacitus; their religion could not but incline them therein, to give what encouragement and affiftance they were able *.

We have not many ancient writers remaining, to give us light concerning the state of Christianity among the ancient Britons. Gildas, called the Wise, is the most ancient author, according to the learned Dr. Cave +; he was born in the year 520, and wrote in 581. He tells us ||, That tho' the precepts of Christ were received but lukewarmly of the inhabitants, yet they remained intirely with some, less sincerely with others, until the nine years of persecution under Dioclesian. It deserves to be lamented, that we have so sew remains of the first Christians in this island. Gildas gives the plain reason of it; The monuments, says he, of our country, or writings, if there were any, appear not; they were either burnt by the fire of enemies, or transported far off by our

banished countrymen.

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Much hath been faid of one king Lucius, who is represented as the first Christian Prince that ever reigned. Feremy Collier ‡ conceives, he governed in those parts afterwards called Surrey and Sussex: he is said to have

^{*} Dr. Calamy's Sermon on Isaiah 66. 18, 19. or God's Concern for his Glory in the British Isles, page 12, 13.

[†] Chartophylax, pag. 117. || Gildas de Excidio Britanniæ, in Biblioth. Patrum, Tom. 3. Col. 580. ‡ Eccl. History of Britain, Vol. I. page 12.

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been converted to Christianity about the year of our Lord 167. The learned primate Dr. Usher * gives twenty-three different opinions concerning the time; but in that excellent person's book, on the antiquities of the British churches, there is a great deal of confusion, by reason he reports what every author says, without distinguishing what is true or false. They who desire to be further satisfied upon this point, may consult the learned Frederic Spanheim +, who, in a peculiar differtation, proves, that there is much of the fable in this story, even as reported by Dr. Usher, Stilling fleet, and others. The venerable Bede, who flourished in the eighth century, is the first who has any account thereof. To be sure, neither Irenæus, Tertullian, Eusebius, Jerome, Sulpitius Severus, Theodoret, Prosper, Orosius, nor Cassiodorus, tho' inquisitive authors, who report what they knew concerning the propagation of the Christian Religion; nor even Gildas, tho' a British man, who wrote in the fixth century, nor any other author we know of, before the eighth century, takes any notice of it. Besides, those monkish and other authors who report it after Bede, do fo far differ among themselves concerning the time of Lucius's conversion; the Burton annals placing it A. D. 137, the last of the emperor Adrian, and John Harding reckons it in the year 190 |, in the reign of Commodus: here is fifty-three years distance. Neither do they better agree, as to the perfon by whom he was converted, nor as to the place where he reigned, whether in the North or South parts of the ifle, or over the whole; nor concerning any other circumstance of the story: which renders the whole of it very dubious, if not fabulous. That part of the story, That he sent eminent persons to Eleutherius bishop of Rome, praying, that by his consent he might be baptized, and admitted within the church; and brought doctors and teachers from Rome to instruct his people; is

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^{*} De Britannicarum Eccl. Primordiis, pag. 36. & feq. + Spanhemii filii, Operum Tom. 2. pag. 390—399. Usher ubi supra.

like a great many fables of that kind, that have been

advanced to aggrandize the pope's authority.

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Whatever is faid of king Lucius's conversion, it appears there was a Christian Church in Britain some ages before the Saxon conquest; indeed a great part of the inhabitants continued pagans, yet our holy religion made a progress. As it got ground, the temples of their ancient idols were some of them destroy'd, and others of them dedicated to the true and living God. That which was the last of the ten persecutions under the Roman emperors, seems to have been the first that affected this island. But in that general calamity, in the reign of Dioclesian and Maximian, about the year 303, the Christians here were very great sufferers. that Maximian almost rooted out the Christian Religion from Britain, and that they who suffered martyrdom were almost without number. Gildas tells us *, "That "their churches were thrown down, and all the books " of holy scriptures that could be found were burnt in "the streets, and the chosen priests of the flock of our " Lord, together with the innocent sheep, murdered: " fo as in some parts of the province, no footsteps of " the Christian Religion did appear. How many did "then flee, how many were destroy'd, how many dif-" ferent kinds of death some did endure, how great was " the ruin of apostates, how glorious the crowns of " martyrdom, ecclefiastical history does declare." St. Alban of Verulam, and Aaron, and Julius of Carlifle, with many others of both fexes, fealed their testimony with their blood. But when this from was over, which did not last much above a year, the Christians here, as well as in other parts, fled out of the woods, and dens, and caves, where they had hid themselves, and rebuilt their demolished churches, and flourished to a great degree both in peace and unity. They were much favoured by Constantius the father of Constantine, who continued for the latter part of his life in Britain, and would fuffer no man to die for his religion in his domi-Here also Constantine himself appeared to favour

^{*} De Excidio Britanniæ ubi supra, Col. 582.

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your Christianity, which 'tis not likely he would have done publickly, had not a good part of his army been of that religion. And upon his advancement to the imperial throne, it is not to be wondred at, if more splendour attended Christianity, as it was here professed, than had been known before. But I cannot discern sufficient ground to apprehend, that, from the beginning, churches or places of worship were so nobly adorned, or Church-Government so modelled in this island, as fome time after; or that the prelatical form of government was any part of the glory that was at first declared in this island. Gildas, the most ancient British writer extant, in his account of the state of Britain, as to ecclefiaftical matters in former times, mentions priefts, and clerks or doctors, but takes not the least notice of bishops advanced above priefts, with any such supereminence as was afterward common, till he comes to speak of times in which things had taken another turn. But I leave this controverfy to others *, fince it falls not directly within my province. Bishop Stilling fleet frankly owns +, That, by the loss of the records of the British churches, we cannot draw down the succession of bishops from the Apostles time, but we have reason to presume such a succession. Others are of a contrary opinion. Indeed, we do not meet with any distinct account of bishops in Britain, till the coming of St. Germanus and his companions out of Gaul, under the pretence of helping their neighbours against the Pelagians, about the year of Christ, 440. Bishop Stilling fleet takes notice of several good offices they did to the British churches, by their coming hither; as, that they instituted schools of learning among the Britons, and introduced the Gallican Liturgy |; to which it may be added, that they made the Britons, who before kept to their ancient simplicity, more conformable to the Gallican churches, with respect to episcopal government. For the anonymous author

+ Origines Britannicæ, pag. 77.

| Ibid. pag. 200, &c.

^{*} See Dr. Calamy's Sermon, God's Concern for his Glory in the British Isles, pag. 16, &c. with marginal Notes.

of the chronicle in Leland, fays*, that Germanus and Lupus confecrated bishops in several parts of England. So much concerning the state of Christianity in Britain

before the Saxon conquest.

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But in the year 450, king Vortigern being vexed with the incursions and wars of the Scots and Picts, called in the affistance of the Saxons, which Gildas calls the most downright folly and madness. These Saxons easily complied with the invitation; they embarked their forces under the conduct of Hengist and Horsa, and landed in the isle of Thanet, marched northward, and defeated their enemy. Upon the news of this victory, their countrymen in Germany equipt more veliels, and put a greater number of troops on board than before; which, at their landing, joined the first body, and carried all be-The Britons gave them a division of the fore them. country, upon condition, they should be ready to appear in the field against the common enemy. In a few years, these new guests making peace with the Scots and Picts, then the common enemy, made war upon the Britons themselves, which continued many years; the Saxons being victorious, over-run the whole country with fire and fword, and fet it a blazing from the one This defolation brought on by the end to the other. heathens, was a judgment upon the wickedness of the natives. Gildas + and Beda | compare it to the burning of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans. The former of these authors applies to this occasion, Pfalm lxxiv. 7. They have cast fire into thy sanctuary, they have defiled, by casting down the dwelling-place of thy name to the ground. And Pfalm lxxix. 1. O God, the heathen have come into thy inheritance, thy holy temple have they defiled, &c. In thort, there was nothing but flaughter, flame and ruin; publick and private buildings, palaces and churches, were burned down without distinction, priests were murdered upon the altars, bithops and people were exposed to fire and fword, neither was there any to bury.

^{*} Monastic. Angl. Vol. III. pag. 188.

⁺ De Excidio Britanniæ in Bibl. patrum, Tom. 3. Col. 587. Eccl, Hist. Gentis Anglorum, lib. 1. cap. 15. fol. mihi 17.

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them. Some retired to the mountains, but even these were oft cut in pieces; others by famine were forced to furrender, and sell their liberty for bread; some transported themselves to foreign countries, others remaining at home, sled to the mountains, woods, and inaccessible

places, and there led a poor anxious life.

Tho' the Britons made some noble attempts to recover their liberty, yet the Saxons gained by degrees upon the Creed as well as the Country, (I use the words of * Feremy Collier) insomuch, as at last Heathenism was the prevailing religion, and kept pace with the Saxon conquest, yea, almost overspread the whole land; the church lost ground every where, and was driven as it were to a corner, and no where was visible to any degree, excepting in Wales, Cornwall, and Cumberland; for in these parts the Britons had still some footing.

When matters were come to this pass, Ethelbert, the fifth king of the Saxon race reigned in Kent, and in the South east parts of England; he and his subjects were the first among the Saxons that were converted to the Christian Faith. Before his conversion he married a Christian princess, Bertha, daughter to the king of France, who, by contract, was to have the free exercise of her religion, under the care of Letardus a bishop, sent by her parents with her; she did contribute very much to the conversion of the king her husband, but the main occasion of it, under divine providence, is said to have been thus. It was a custom among the Northumbrians to fell their children for a small matter in a foreign country; it happened two comely youths being brought thence to Rome, Gregory, Archdeacon of that city, had a view of them, who admiring their good countenance, and pitying their condition, enquired what they were; and being answered, they were Angli, of the province of Deira, under Alla king of Northumberland, he brake out into this allusion, That the Angli, so like Angels, should be snatched out of Deira, that is, from the wrath of God, to fing Allelujah. Upon this, he obtained a licence from the pope Benedict to come and preach there Ch

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^{*} Collier's Ecclesiastical History of Britain, Vol. 1. pag. 61.

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among the Saxons, but was prevented by his fuccession to the papal fee; till being admonished, as Bede fays, by inspiration, he appointed Austin, and other zealous monks with him, to come over and preach the Gospel in England. They came about forty in number, and landed in the isle of Thanet *, about the year of our Lord 596, with some of the French nation, whom they took along with them as interpreters. Austin sent to king Ethelbert, to offer him heaven and eternal happiness, by another God than the Saxons knew: The king ordered them necessaries, and after some days came to the isle, where Austin preached to him, and to all the affembly, the things of falvation, which he heard atten-The king himself being converted, contributed much to the conversion of his people; he allowed Austine and his monks to reside at Canterbury, where they fpent their lives in devotion and acts of piety. Austin was consecrated first bishop of Canterbury, a famous church was built there, as also that of St. Paul at London, and another dedicated to St. Andrew at Rochester.

In Ireland, after the death of St. Patrick, the Christian Church was under an eclipse; but Finian came and preached there thirty years, and did contribute very much to restore the churches that had been formerly neglected †. Constantine and Columba preached the Gospel both to the Scots and Piets || . Cantyre was converted by Constantine; there he died a martyr, and is buried at Govan upon Clyde, a monastery which he

himself founded.

The planting of Christianity among the English-Saxons, that was begun in the fixth, was advanced in the seventh century. Austin desired the bishop of Rome to furnish him with some assistants; Pope Gregory, in compliance with his request, sent Melitus, Justus, Paulinus, Russinianus, and some others with them, with church-

^{*} Bedæ Hist. Eccl. Gentis Anglorum, lib. 1. cap. 25. Polydors Virgil Hist. Angliæ, lib. 4. pag. 154. & seq. + Userii Angliæ, pag. 154. & seq.

[†] Usserii Antiquitates, pag. 590.

Vide Usserium de Britan. Eccl. Primordiis, pag. 695.

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church-plate, vestments, reliques and habits for the clergy, books, and what was requifite for the fervice of religion*. Also acquainting Austin, that he had sent him a Pall, as a mark of his efteem, for the great fervice he had done in converting the English, and directs him to erect twelve bishopricks in his province, and that the bishop of London receive a Pall from the apostolick fee. As for York, he orders him to erect a bishoprick there, leaving the person to his choice; adding withal, that if it should please God, that city and the neighbouring country should turn Christian, he was to form it into a province, with twelve bishops under the metropolitan of York, to whom the pope himself defigned to fend a pall, with this refervation, That he shall be subject to you, my dear brother. In the answer Pope Gregory fent to feveral questions proposed by Austin, he differs from the present doctrine of the church of Rome; as, in allowing the clergy, if they want the gift of continence, to marry +: he also writes to king Ethelbert, exhorting him to promote Christianity, and extirpate idolatry, encouraging him in that work by the example of Constantine the Great, and sends him gifts as a mark of his esteem. He wrote also to queen Bertha, to exhort the king her husband to quicken his zeal in the cause of Christianity, encouraging her so to do, by the example of Hellena the mother of Constantine | ; and fends feveral other letters and directions to Austin, which are to be found in Bede. Austin endeavoured, as far as he could, to establish the authority of the Church of Rome in England, which was disowned by the British clergy of Wales, as appears by a dispute between them on the edge of Worcestershire, about some points of religion, as, that they observe Easter, and celebrate Baptism according to the rites of the church of Rome #: Where Austin demeaning himself haughtily to the Welch

* Bedæ Hift. Eccl. lib. 1. cap. 29.

Ibid. lib. 2. cap. 2.

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[†] Bedæ Hist. Eccl. cap. 27. fol. m. 30. | Ibid. cap. 32. Greg. Epist. lib. 9. epist. 59. Operum Tom. 2. fol. 249.

Chap. 6. Propagation of Christianity.

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and Scots, Dinooth abbot of Bangor tells him, That they owned no other subjection to the pope of Rome, but what they were bound to by the Christian duties of love and charity. Austin was not able to gain that party to comply with his measures; he died in the year 604, and was buried at Canterbury *. Laurentius is ordained his successor. King Ethelbert, the first Christian prince of the Saxon race, also departed this life in the year

of our Lord 616, having reigned 56 years.

His fon Eadbald succeeded, who did not profess himfelfca Christian, but continued in idolatry, and lived in incestuous mixtures with his father's wife +: his influence made many of his subjects revolt to Paganism 1. This calamity was increased by the death of Sebert king of the East-Saxons, who was a Christian; he left his dominions to his three fons, but was not fo happy as to recover them from idolatry. They declared themselves more openly in favour of Paganism after his death, and gave their subjects as much liberty to practife idolatry as they pleased; which so far discouraged Melitus and Justus, that they embarked for France, but foon returned. Upon the death of Laurentius, Melitus was ordained bishop of Canterbury, Anno 619, and Justus succeeded him in the year 624. About this time. the English-Saxons, in the kingdom of Northumberland, were converted, by the preaching of Paulinus. The occasion of this happy revolution was, Edwin, king of that country, courted Edelburga, or Tate, daughter to the late king Ethelbert, and fent ambaffadors for this purpose to Eadbald her brother, who told them, That it was not lawful for a Christian to marry with a Pagan, without dishonour to God, and profaning ber Religion. Edwin receiving this answer, promised not to act any thing against the Religion the princes professed; she and all her retinue, both priefts and fervants, should have free liberty to ferve God as they thought fit; yea, he

^{*} Bedæ Hist. Eccl. cap. 3.

[†] Ibid. Lib. 2. cap. 5. || Collier's Ecclefiastical History of Britain, Vol. 1. Pag. 80, and following.

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he might probably be of the same Religion himself, provided upon enquiry it was found to be a holier institution, and more suitable to the worship of God than his own. This satisfaction being given, the princess was contracted to king Edwin, and Paulinus was ordained bishop by Justus in the year of our Lord 625, to go with the princess Edelburga, to take care, that neither she, nor any of her family should relapse into Paganism, to which they might be tempted by the evil

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example of a heathenish court.

Paulinus, at his coming to Northumberland, used his utmost endeavours to convert the pagans, but met not with much fuccess. The next year there happened an accident at court, which brought the king nearer to Christianity. Guicholm king of the West-Saxons practised with an affassin to murder king Edwin; the villain poisoned his dagger, and came into the king's présence in the character of an ambaffador; drawing his dagger from under his coat, he makes a furious pals at the king: Lilla, a loyal subject interposed his body, and received a mortal wound; yet the thrust was made with fuch force, as it touched the king *: the affaffin was immediately kill'd. About this time Edwin had a daughter born, and was perfuaded, that Paulinus's prayers had been ferviceable to the queen in her recovery; upon this he promifed to renounce heathenish idolatry, and worship our Saviour, if he would preserve his life, and give his arms fuccess against that perfidious prince, who fent the ruffian to murder him; and as a pledge for his fincerity, allowed Paulinus to baptize his daughter, which he did at the next Pentecost, with twelve more of the court. King Edwin marched with a confiderable army against the king of the Welt-Saxons, and cut those in pieces, or took them prisoners, who had been engaged in that treacherous attempt upon his life; yet did not profess himself immediately a Christian, but renounced the worship of idols, and frequently conferred with Paulinus about the reasonableness of Christianity, and weighed in his own mind the weight

^{*} Bedæ Hift. Eccl. Lib. 2. cap. 9.

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weight of the arguments on either fide. Boniface bishop of Rome being informed of this situation of affairs, wrote a letter to king Edwin, to engage him to declare for Christianity, and compleatly to abandon idolatry, urging to this end some texts of scripture, as Psalm xcvi. 5. Pfalm cxv. 5, -8. 'Tis probable, the king had been informed of the authority of the scriptures before this time. The pope fent another letter to Queen Edelburga, exhorting her, to make use of all her interest for the conversion of the king her husband, to fet the advantage of Christianity before him, and to pray for the fuccess of all her endeavours, that she may fee the accomplishment of the words of the Apostle, That the unbelieving busband is sanctified by the wife. Both these letters are at full length recorded by Bede +. Notwithstanding all these endeavours Edwin continued still unresolved; but his memory being refreshed by a vision ||, which foretold his escape from the danger he was then engaged in, and the prosperity which afterward happened to him; the circumstances of the vision being revealed to Paulinus, he put the king in mind of the engagements he made in his diffress, and that it was now time to perform his promife. Collier inclines to give credit to the truth of this vision *, fince Bede, who relates it, was born in Northumberland, only fifty one years after Edwin's Conversion. I shall not debate the truth thereof, but I frankly own, tho' Bede's ecclefiaftick history be very valuable, for preferving to us the most accurate account we have of the conversion of the heathen English Saxons, yet he has such a heap of uncouth miracles, faid to be performed by monks and faints, as do surpass my belief. However, Paulinus to improved the story, that Edwin was now fully satisfied to receive the Christian Faith, but thought it proper to communicate his defign to his friends, nobles and counsellors, that in case they came over to his perluation,

⁺ Bedæ Hist. Eccl. Lib. 2. cap. 10, 11.

Ibid. cap. 12.

^{*} Eccl. Hift. of Britain, Vol. 1. Pag. 84.

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fuafion, they might all be baptized together. The matter being debated in council, they appeared all forward to reject pagan idolatry, to burn the idol temples, and treat them with all circumstances of contempt: particularly Coist the pagan high priest, offered to execute this refolve; he mounted himself with his fword and launce upon the king's charging-horfe, and caused to be burnt the chief seats of Paganism; as the temple at Godmundighame, near the river Derwent, not far from York, with all its appurtenances; where he polluted and deftroyed those altars he himself had confecrated *. King Edwin declared his conversion to Christianity, and was baptized in the eleventh year of his reign, upon Easter-day, 627, in St. Peter's church at York, which was then of wood, haftily reared up by the king's order for that purpose; all the nobility, and many of the commons following his example. Paulinus was made bishop of York; in the fix years he continued in that country, Christianity was wonderfully spread: Osfrid and Eadfrid, king Edwin's sons, by Queensburg, daughter of Cearl king of the Mercians +, were baptized with their father, as were three other children of Edwin, by Edelburga. The people of the country were so charmed with the Christian Religion, that Paulinus, attending the king and queen to one of their country houses, is said to have spent five weeks, instructing and baptizing great numbers who flocked thither.

Edwin was very zealous for the interest of Christianity, and endeavoured to propagate it further than his own dominions ||. Eorquald fon of Redwald king of the East Angles, renounced paganism, and came into the church at Edwin's persuasion, but he was soon after murdered by Richibert a pagan. Paulinus crossed the river Humber, and travelling southward to Lincoln, converted Blecca the governor, with his family; here he built a fine church of stone, of which nothing but the walls

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^{*} Bedæ Hift. Eccl. Lib. 2. cap. 13.

[†] Bedæ Hist. Eccl. cap. 14. | Bedæ Hist. Eccl. cap. 15.

walls were standing, in Bede's time *. 'Tis also recorded, that Eadbald the son of Ethelbert, of whom we have already heard, was, a little before this time, converted to the profession of Christianity, and perfuaded to abandon his unlawful marriage, and the

vices of his youth +.

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This prosperous state of affairs was overclouded by the death of Edwin, who having reigned happily feventeen years, Caedwalla and Penda, two princes who paid homage to him, broke out into open rebellion, and gave Edwin battle at Hethfeld, where his army was cut in pieces, and himself slain in the forty eighth year of his age, and in the year of our Lord 633 ||. conquering princes marched forward, and haraffed the country: Penda and his troops being all pagans, no better could be expected at their hands; and as for Caedwalla king of the Britons, tho' he professed Christianity, yet such was the barbarity of his temper, that he spared neither age nor sex, but put all that came in his way, to death or torture; hoping either to ruin the Saxons, or make them abandon the illand, for the Britons then had no opinion of the Christianity of the Paulinus retired into Kent, with Queen Edelburga and her children, carrying a great deal of King Edwin's plate with him, where he was kindly received by Eadbald. Edwin thus falling, Ofric and Eanfrid his uncle's fon's fucceeded: they had lived in exile among the Scots and Piets, where they had been educated and baptized Christians; but when Eanfrid came to Northumberland, he apostatized to Paganism, and Oswald his brother fuctell in the first campaign. ceeded, who kept to the engagements of his baptilm: Caedwalla marched a numerous army against him, but was defeated and flain at Dennisburn ‡. Ofwald had obliged all his army to fall upon their knees and pray to God for the fuccess of their arms, before the battle

^{*} Bedæ Eccl. Hift. Lib. 2. cap. 15.

[†] Ibid. cap. 6. || Ibid. cap. 20.

[#] Bedæ Eccl. Hist. Lib. 3. cap. 1.

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began **. In order to make his subjects partake of the advantages of Christianity, he fent to Scotland, where he had been formerly educated, to defire fome persons of character and learning, to come and instruct his people. The Scots clergy fent him Aidan, a man highly commended by Bede *, for his piety and learning, tho' he did not conform to the rites of the church of Rome. in keeping Easter: he fixed his feat in Holy Island, on the coast of Northumberland, about the year 634; whatever he proposed, was chearfully complied with, the king thinking himself obliged to be governed by his direction, in whatever related to Religion. Several Scots men came to his affiftance, who preached with great application over all Ofwald's dominions; and thus Religion prospered. The West Saxons were converted by the preaching of Birinnus +, about the year 635. The conversion of the East Angles, was carried on by Felix the Burgundian, encouraged by Segebert a religious prince ||, who had been educated in France, and by Furfeus a monk, of great piety. Bede gives him an extraordinary character, and fays, He was honoured by the conversation of angels before his death t. In the year of our Lord 640, Eadbald king of Kent departed this life, and was fucceeded by his fon Earonconbert, who reigned with great applause twenty four years; he was the first Saxon prince who made Paganism penal |||, and ordered the idols should be broken, and their worship laid aside; he commanded the keeping of Lent: his daughter Eartongatha was abbefs of a nunnery in France.

The Middle Angles were converted in the reign of Penda, son of king Penda; he made a visit to Oswy king of the Northumbrians, desiring Ablstede his daughter in marriage. This request could not be granted, but on condition of his turning Christian, and using his endeavours to make his subjects of the same Religion. When he understood the doctrine of the Gospel gave

^{**} Bedæ Eccl. Hift. Lib. 3. cap. 2.

^{*} Ibidem cap. 3, 5. † Ibidem cap. 7. † Ibidem cap. 19. || Ibidem cap. 18.

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gave a prospect of so noble rewards; that the refurrection of the body, and eternal happiness in heaven, were in expectation; he declared himself willing to turn Christian ++, tho' the princess should be refused. Being thus fatisfied, he was admitted to baptism, with all his train, by Finanus the bishop: being baptized himself, he returned home with four priests, to promote the conversion of his subjects, their names were Cedda, Adda, Betti and Diuma, the three first were English, the last a Scots man; by whom many of the people were perfuaded to renounce Paganism, and come into the bosom of the church. I shall not give the detail of all the other Saxon princes, and their people turning Christian, tho' I have given the most considerable; fome of them afterward revolted to Paganism; they

went out from us, because they were not of us.

The isle of Wight continued longest of the English Saxons in heathenish idolatry, but were gained at last; Bede does not relate the year, but it feems to be about the 684th year of the Christian Æra. The occasion was, Caedwella made a descent upon that isle, then wholly given to idolatry; he obtained a victory, but made a tragical use of it, putting all the inhabitants to the fword; he planted their country with a colony of his own subjects, and made a vow, That he would give a fourth part to the church; which he performed. Willifrid arriving at that juncture, the whole ifle, according to Bede *, containing possessions for 1200 families, the conqueror gave the bishop 300 of them, which he committed to a clergyman named Bernwin, his fifter's fon, with the affiftance of a priest called *Hiddila*, who preached the word, and administred baptism to all who would receive it. Two fons of Arwald king of the island, were admitted within the Church; and afterward killed by the cruel Conqueror.

'Tis not far out of our way, here to observe, that the Christianity that was in the island before the Saxon Conquest, was more pure and free from Romish Corruptions,

Ibidem Lib. 4. cap. 16.

⁺⁺ Bedæ Eccl. Hist. Lib. 3. cap. 21.

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than what came in about this time; there were great contests between those of the old stamp and those of the new; the former lived in Wales and Scotland, the latter in the heart of England: those who disowned the Romish impositions, were called the Schismaticks of Britain and Ireland, because they would not receive the alterations from Rome, nor submit to the authority that imposed them. In the year 601, there was a fynod called by Austin, to which Bede tells us *, the bishops or doctors of the next province of the Britons were fummoned, in which Dinooth abbot of Bangor told him, they owned no other subjection to the pope of Rome, but what they were bound to by the Christian duties of love and charity; nor would they own Austin, who carried so haughtily, for their archbishop. About 1200 of the poor monks, not long after this, loft their lives for this freedom and resolution. The ground of the contest was about the time of keeping Easter; as for the Romans, they kept it on that Sunday which fell between the fifteenth and twenty first day of the moon, both terms included, next after the 21st day of March, which they accounted to be the feat of the vernal equinox; and in reckoning the age of the moon, they followed the Alexandrian Cycle of nineteen years, as it was explained to them by Dionysius Exiguus. The Scots and Britons kept Easter upon the Sunday that fell between the 14th and 20th day of the moon, following in their account Sulpitius Severus's Cycle of 84 years. So that the ground of the controverfy may be justly called a lunacy. Pope Honorius, about the year 635, wrote to the Scots about an uniformity in this point, and gravely admonished them +, Not to think, that such a small number as they were, in the ends of the earth, were wifer than the ancient and modern churches, thro' the world; and not to celebrate another Easter, against the pascal computations and decrees of the synodal pontiffs of the whole world. Pope John, who succeeded Honorius, wrote a letter to them upon

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[★] Bedæ Eccl. Hist. Lib. 2. cap. 2. 4 Ibidem cap. 19.

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upon the same subject +. Some time after this, there was a conference about the difference at Whithy in Yorkshire, where king Oswy determined to adhere to the successor of St. Peter, for fear, lest that saint, who, be was told, kept the keys of the kingdom of heaven, should at last deny him an admission there |. For this doughty reason, the notions of the old British and Scottish Chriftians, which they professed to have received out of Greece, from the disciples of St. John, Polycarp, &c. were rejected with contempt, and those of the Roman ftamp admitted, as much more fafe and modifh; and the whole matter was yet more fully fettled in the fynod of Hereford, under archbishop Theodore, in the year 673 ±. But the difference did not lie only in the time of keeping Easter; they differed also about baptism, and the tonfure of priefts. The difference about baptism Dr. Calamy conceives ** to have been about the trine immersion, then remarkable in the church of Rome. But the power of imposing upon fellow-christians, was a main part of the controversy, each fide ran pretty high; those of the Roman stamp would not receive imposition of hands from those of the other party, who were not behind-hand with them in stiffness, of which the letter of Laurentius, who succeeded Austin in the archbishoprick of Canterbury, to the Scots in Ireland, furnishes us with an instance ++; for 'tis there brought in as a complaint, that Dagamus their abbot or bishop, when he was with fome of the Roman stamp, not only would not eat with them, but would not fo much as eat in the fame inn with them.

From the whole, we have reason to believe, that many of those old *Britons* or *Scots* were excellent persons, and that God by their means kept up true Christianity in this island, to a greater degree than it would otherwise have been preserved. Even *Bede* himself represents *Aidan*, *Finan* and *Colman*, who were chief

⁺ Bedæ Eccl. Hist. Lib. 2. cap. 19:

[|] Ibidem Lib. 3. cap. 25.

Ibidem Lib. 4. cap 5.

** God's concern for his Glory in the British Isles, pag. 34.

⁺ Bedæ Hift. Eccl. Lib. 2. cap. 4.

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leaders of the Scots, and famous preachers in Northumberland, as eminent for their great continency and the love of God, for a regular life, and great observers of the works of piety and chastity, which they learned out of the holy scriptures: in a word, they stood up for the purity of Christianity, as founded on the Word of God; and were diligent and fruitful in the works of piety and chastity, wherein they maintained themselves a long time, against the canons and ordinances of the Romish councils.

If we look into other parts of the Christian world, Alstedius informs us *, That, in the reign of the emperor Heraclius, Amandus Gallus converted the people of Ghent; the altars, upon which they facrificed to Mercury, being destroyed. Chilenus a Scots man perfuaded those of the province of Artois to receive the Christian Faith. Gallus and Columbanus, two Scots men, founded many churches in several places of Germany, especially in Suabia. Egidius Gallus converted the Flandrians †. Chilianus a Scots man converted the upper Franconia; he himself was made bishop of Wurtsburg || The English and Scots in other parts of Germany did the same; for out of Britain many numerous ecclesiastick colonies came into Germany.

Dr. Mackenzie has a fuller account of Columbanus; he fays ‡, That it appears he was born in Scotland, from his own works, where he calls himself sometimes a Briton, sometimes a Scots man. In the letter Laurentius wrote to the church of Scotland, he is reckoned with Dagamus the Scots abbot; he was educated in the monastery of Hy or Icolmkill; towards the latter end of the year 589, he went with twelve monks from Hy to France, where he retired to the solitude of Verge near Besançon, and there founded the monasteries of Luxevil and Fountaine, which he governed twenty years. About the year 598, he was engaged in the controversy about Easter, and maintained the practice of the Scots church, concern-

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^{*} De Conversione Populorum, in Chronologia, Pag. 326.

[†] De Conversione Populorum, in Chronologia, ad annum 648.

I Ibidem ad annum 688.

[‡] Lives of Scots Writers, vol. 1. Life of Columban.

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ing the time of that festival, in opposition to the rites of the church of Rome, which they violently imposed upon the world. Columban also travelled to Swisserland, where he converted many pagans, and thence returned to Italy, where he founded the monastery of Bobio.

Alstedius adds, That the people of Westphalia were persuaded to embrace the profession of the Christian Faith, by the two Evaldi *, the one of which was surnamed White, and the other Black. The Thuringians about Ersurd, were converted about the year of our Lord 698.

In this age, the delusion of *Mahomet*, to the great prejudice of Christianity, began to overspread the world. The *Mahometan Hegira* commenceth with the 16th of *July*, 622 of the Christian Æra. Of the life of *Mahomet* I have formerly discoursed †, and I have no design now to insist upon this great judgment of God upon degenerate Christians.

It is remarkable, that the emperor Heraclius, being vexed with the daily injuries Chofroes king of Persia did to the Christian provinces, he sent him an embaffy for peace; to which that proud heathenish prince returned this answer, He would not spare the Christians, till they, denying their crucified Jesus, should worship the sun ||. After this blasphemy, the Christian emperor Heraclius was fuccessful in his wars against Chofroes; he defeated him and his whole army in 622, and maintained his victory for five years; at length he was taken prisoner by Siroes, whom he would have deprived of his crown, in favour of a younger brother, and shut up in a nasty prison, where he was fed with bread and water: and after the mortifying fight of the murder of his children, he himself was put to death.

Samo king of the Venedi, a people who live at the fource of the rivers Save and Drave, plundered and killed fome merchants belonging to king Dagobert: this king therefore invaded their country with an army.

^{*} Alstedius ubi supra. + Supra, Chapter sirst.

| Sigonius de regno Italiæ Lib. 2. Pag. 34. Horringer Hist. Eccl.

parte prima, Pag. 415.

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army, fubdued it, and made the people fubmit to

Christianity *.

About the end of this century, Willibroad, being encouraged by the Major of the palace in France, made fome progress in converting the people of West-Friseland. Feremy Collier calls this Willibroad an English priest +. Dr. Mackenzie contends he was a Scots man ||; and for this adduces the testimonies of Boethius ‡, Camerarius **, and Alcuin who wrote the life of Willibroad. Bede fays ++, " That he went to " Rome, and in the year 696, was made bishop of " Utrecht by the pope; he returned to his diocess, " where he built his cathedral, and preached the Gospel " far and near, reclaiming many from the error of " their way, and erecting many churches and mona-" fteries: he is yet alive (fays Bede) venerable for old age, having exercifed his episcopal office thirty " fix years, he now breathes for a crown of glory." Other missionaries assisted him in reclaiming the Friselanders from their idolatry.

Tho' most of the nations converted from paganism, in this and some following ages, were subject to the bishop of Rome, and increased his authority, submitting to the corruptions of these times; yet it deserves to be remarked, that they were the seed out of which God raised to himself purer, yea, even protestant churches afterwards: and therefore, their conversion to Christianity, ought to be noticed, as a part of the performance of that prophecy, The kingdoms of this world, are become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ; and he shall reign for ever and ever.

In the eighth Century, the Saxon kings and their people in England, now generally professed themselves Christians;

+ Eccl. Hist. of Britain, Vol. 1. pag. 115.

^{*} Hottinger Hist. Eccl. parte prima, pag. 418. ex Aventino annalium Bojorum, Lib. 3. pag. 279.

[#] Hist. Scotorum, pag. 651.

^{**} De Scotorum doctrina & pietate. †† Hist. Lib. 5. cap. 12.

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Christians; yea, some of them became so zealous, that Cenred king of the Mercians, tho' a prince well qualified for government, threw up his crown, and taking a monastick habit under Pope Constantine, spent the remainder of his life in charity, discipline and devotion. Offa king of the East-Saxons kept him company, both in his journey and defign. Bede describes him *, as a very graceful person, in the prime of his youth, well qualified to fway a sceptre; but out of devotion, he disengaged himself from his wife, his relations, his interest and country, that, as he believed, he might receive a hundred fold in this life, and in the world to come, life everlasting. King Ina did the same, about the year of our Lord 728 +. Monasteries began now so to increase in England, that even Bede himself gives this advice to Egbert bishop of York, That if their numbers and regulations were not taken care of, they might prove to the disadvantage both of church and state |. Bede died in the year 735, or, according to others, 736; he was born in 673, fent to the monastery of Yarow, not far from the mouth of the river Tyne, in the bishoprick of Durham, while a child, where he continued the whole course of his life, and made great proficiency in almost every part of learning, spending his whole time in study and devotion: He wrote Axioms, Metaphysicks, Mathematicks, Controversies, Commentaries on Scripture, and several books of History: his whole works are contained in eight Tomes. bury ‡ gives him an extraordinary character, and fays, " History slept, and all notice of publick transactions " was in a manner buried fince his time. The English " grew flothful and unlettered, and took no care to " come up to the fense and figure of their predeces-" fors; and thus the inclination of posterity grew

The

[&]quot; cooler and cooler, till they dwindled at last into a

[&]quot; remarkable ignorance."

^{*} Hist. Eccl. Lib. 5. cap. 20.

[†] Collier's Ecclefiastical History of Britain, Vol. 1. pag. 123.

I Ibidem pag. 124. Bedæ Epistola ad Egbertum Epis.

[‡] Malmsbury de gestis Anglorum, Lib. 1. cap. 3. apud Collier ubi fupra, pag. 126.

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The conversion of the northern parts of Germany, about this time, deferves our particular notice. In entering upon this subject, I might enlarge upon the idolatry of those nations, but I have given some account thereof already *; and those who are curious, may see more in a book intitled Antiquitates Select & Septentrionales & Celticæ, auctore Johanne Georgio Keysler, printed at Hanover, in 1720; where we may find how these nations, and even the English Saxons, before they received the Gospel, worshipped huge stones, as in the monument Henchinge near Salisbury, and trees and woods, with a great many uncouth deities; the Sun, the Moon, Odin, Thoron, Tuisco, Mannus, Frea, Hesus, Irmenful, &c. Also how necromancy, charming and witches were frequent among them; yea, they even idolized fome of these old hags, as appears from many Inscriptions in that learned author. And we may expect further discoveries in these matters when he shall publish his large book, intitled, Germania Gentilis, de Diis veterum Celtarum, Gentiumque septentrionalium, as is proposed in the 297th page of his Antiquitates septentrionales. But this book having only come to my hand fince I had writ the preceding sheets, and lest this history should swell too much under my hand, I shall not enter upon further enquiries concerning that fubject. No doubt, the condition of these northern nations under heathenish idolatry and profound barbarous ignorance, was very lamentable: our principal care may be, to discover how these evils were removed.

In order to this 'tis to be observed, that tho' in the first ages of the Christian Church, our holy religion was propagated thro' many parts of Asia, Africa and Europe, as hath been already explained; and came also to some parts of the south of Germany, as is observed by Joachimus Muller †: yet in the northern parts, which lie toward the Baltick sea, and Sarmatia in Europe, tho' there might be some sew Christians scattered here and there, heatherish idolatry was not extirpated,

+ Præfatio ad Crantzii Metropolin.

^{*} Near the end of Chap. II. of this history.

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The Magdeburgick centuriators, from Chronicon Urbis Isenacensis, tell this story ||; That when Boniface bishop of Mentz saw his neighbours in Thuringia so mad upon heathenish superstition, that no man durst venture to preach the Gospel among them, but with the danger of his life, he levy'd an army, and made an inroad into their country. The Insidels being asraid, retired to a strong place called Tretenburg; Boniface calling their leaders, said, All his design was to preach the offers of salvation to them thro' Jesus Christ the Redeemer. The

Thuringians

^{*} Lives of Scots Writers, vol. 1.'
† In differtatione de Bonifacii patria.

[†] Conciliorum, Tom. 3. pag. 341. | Cent. viii. pag. 13. Tit. de Propagatione Ecclesiæ.

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Thuringians being intent upon worldly gain, asked, What advantage would redound to them by submitting to Christ? The bishop answered, Christ the Son of God became man, to purchase righteousness and eternal life; if you believe in bim, you'll be delivered from all evil in foul and body, from bell, and from the power of the devil: yea, shall receive beaven and eternal happiness. But, faid they, we are under the servitude of the king of Hungary, who obliges us to pay the tenth to him, not only of our worldly goods, but even of our children; if the God you worship will relieve us from this servitude, we'll believe in him, worship and adore him; but if otherwise, we'll retain our old religion at all bazards. Boniface being a long time doubtful what to answer to this proposal, at last was admonished by a vision, saying, "O " flow in heart to believe, how can the Thuringians 66 believe on me, when thou thy felf doubtest? thou not read in the Scripture, He suffered no man " to do them wrong, yea, he reproved kings for their sake? "I command thee to tell the Thuringians, they shall be free of these tithes; it shall not be in the power " of the king of Hungary to exact these of them, and " flay thou in their country, till thou fee all this made " good." When Boniface had told them this meffage, they began to give a more favourable reception to the Christian Religion. The king of Hungary being informed that Boniface had absolved his subjects from obedience to him, marches an army against them. When they came to a decifive battel, Boniface prayed earnestly for these new converts, and they soon gained the victory, and acknowledged they obtained it by the favour of Almighty God; and therefore they rejected their heathenish superstition, embraced the doctrine of Christ, and were baptized: And, that they might be for ever free from the yoke of the Hungarians, they entreated Boniface to defire King Carloman to fend a deputy-governour to take them under his protection, which he willingly did.

In this century, the Emperor Charlemaign concluded a league with Achaius king of Scotland: tho' fome wri-

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ters doubt of this fact, yet our Scots antiquaries, Sir Robert Sibbald, Dr. Mackenzie*, Dr. Abercromby +, and others, have given sufficient evidence for it; which authors the reader may confult. In consequence of this league, our King Achaius fent over his brother William or Guiellerm (the French annals call him L'Escot) at the head of four thousand men, who had the honour to share in all the glories of the French in these days. The Saracens were routed in Spain, the Lombards in Italy, and the Saxons in Germany were not only routed, but also conquered. Scotland also sent over some learned and religious men, who contributed to the reftoring of learning, and propagating religion in feveral parts of Europe, as is well expressed by Buchanan ‡. The most remarkable of those who went over, in obedience to Achaius's commands and Charlemaign's entreaty, were Johannes Scotus, Claudius Clemens, Rabbanus Maurus, and Flaccus Albinus ||, fo called from his being born in Albion, as Dr. Mackenzie and Fordun have evinced from Notkerus Balbus, and diftinguished him from the English Alcuin; he had the double honour of being the author of the books called Caroline, and the founder of the university at Pavia, and Clemens is said to have founded that at Paris. Of Rabbanus Maurus (who, for the eminency of his learning and piety, was preferred to the archbishoprick of Mentz) it was faid, Nor Italy nor Germany

* Lives of Scots writers, vol. 1.

† Martial Atchievements of the Scots Nation, vol. 1. pag. 113. & feq.

‡ In Epithalamio Francisci & Mariæ.

Scotia, cum Latium quateret Mars barbarus orbem, Sola prope expulsis suit hospita terra Camœnis, Hinc Sophiæ Grajæ, Sophiæ decreta Latinæ Doctoresque rudis formatoresque juventæ Carolus ad Celtas traduxit.-

When barbarous Foes the Roman World o'erspread, The gentle Muses all to Scotland fled; Hence Greek and Roman Learning in full store, By Charlemaign to France was wafted o'er, And planted, throve, as on their native Shore.

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Germany did ever produce bis equal. That all those were Scotsmen, Dr. Mackenzie has plainly proved in their lives*. That they and others of our country were very instrumental to plant religion in Germany, appears from Bonaventure Strachan in his MSS. entitled, Germania Christiana per Scotos, which is to be feen in the advocates library at Edinburgh. Du Cange a foreigner tells us +, That be is mistaken, if either an Englishman or an Irishman can be admitted into these A larger account of these Scots monasteries, and of learned Scotsmen who propagated religion in Ger-

many, may be feen in Blaeu's Atlas ‡.

The planting of Christianity in the northern parts of Germany, which I am now to explain, has been particularly treated of by Albertus Crantzius, doctor of divinity and laws, and dean of the church of Hamburgh, who had occasion to consult the annals of these churches; he was grieved with the errors and corruptions of the time, but had not the courage to fet himself in opposition to them |||, tho he lived toward the end of the fifteenth, and beginning of the fixteenth century, and died about the time Luther first published his propositions against the pope's indulgences, and was a man of piety and learning. From him we may observe, that

Charlemaign king of France, and afterward emperor of Germany, grieved to see the infidelity and perfidy of the Saxons, and remembring, that his grandfather Charles Martel and his father Pepin, who brought the royal dignity into his family, had oft endeavoured to perfuade them to renounce paganism and embrace the Christian Religion, with little success; he set himself to perfect that work they had begun. About the year

* Lives of Scots Writers, vol. 1. pag. 63. & feq.

[†] Du Cange Gloff. med. & inf. Lat. vol. 2. pag. 778. Germ. Edit. apud Abercromby, ubi supra, pag. 120.

[‡] Edit. 1662. Scotia, pag. 22,—25. || Crantzii Eccl. Hist. five Metrop. Folio. Muller in præfat, ad Crantzii Metropolin.

Chap. 6. Propagation of Christianity.

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of our Lord 770, he obtained several victories over the Saxons*, yet imposed no other conditions upon them, but to acknowledge the true God, and Jesus Christ whom he had sent. Many submitted and were baptized, giving hostages for their sidelity; but as soon as the victorious army retired from their country, they returned to their insidelity and rebellion. Wittekind their sovereign sought several times with Charlemaign and his captains; at last being routed, he sled to the king of

Denmark, whose daughter he had married.

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In the year 780 +, Charlemaign marched a great army into Saxony: Wittekind gathers the whole strength of the country against him; but after a bloody battel is put to flight. The conqueror spared the remainder of the Saxons, requiring only of them to embrace Christianity. He put a garrison in Wittekind's chief castle, and erected a church in the city of Osnaburg, founding there an episcopal See, to one Wibo a Frieflander, who had been converted by Boniface; and appointed a revenue for that bishop and his clergy out of the fruits of the province, that he might instruct and confirm those who had been lately baptized, and settled schools for teaching Greek and Latin. Crantz has a copy of the first charter of erection ‡. He founded another church in East Saxony, near the river Weser, in a place called Salingsteed. Hildegrin the brother of Ludger, was the first bishop there. The emperor took also a religious care to demolish the idols the pagan Saxons worshipped, one of them was called Krodo, adored in the old castle of Hartzburg. Even to this day, lays our author ||, any abominable thing is called Krodo in that country. There was a temple and image of Venus, with the three Graces, at Magdeburg upon the Elb, which was also overturned. Aventinus | fays, he destroyed also an idol called Ermensul. Hildegrin caused a church to be built at Halberstadt, which for a while was his

‡ Ibid. pag. 3. || Ibid. cap. 3. pag. 4. || Annalium Bojorum, pag. 319.

^{*} Crantzii Metropolis, cap. 1. pag. 2. + Ibid. cap. 2.

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his own residence. Another church was erected at Paderborn, and committed to the oversight of the bishop

of Wurtsburg.

In the year 785, Wittekind being weary of his frequent vain rebellious attempts, fent one Albion an Holsteiner, to Charles the Great, offering to wait on him, if he might do it with fafety. This being granted, he offered as a catechumen to be instructed in the faith: within a little after he was baptized, and had fome of his castles restored to him. Thus matters in Saxony were fettled for a while, and churches were multiplied. Another bishoprick was erected in the middle of Saxony, now Westphalia, at a place then called Mymengrode, but now Munster; where Ludger a Frieslander, the brother of Hildegrin, was ordained bishop: he was a person of a good character, and died in the year 809. Swibert hearing his countrymen the Saxons received the Gospel. and that the harvest was great, and the labourers few, came out of England to contribute his affiftance in that good work, and was made bishop of Werden *. Willehad an Englishman, was ordained bishop of Bremen in the year 788. Crantzius + has a copy of the Emperor Charlemaign's letters, for the erection and revenues of that See. Herimbert was made bishop of Minden, and Gunther of Middlesheim. The emperor had frequently honoured the city of *Paderborn* with his prefence, and erected a church there, but did not make it a bishoprick till the year 794. After this he passed the Elbe, and destroyed twelve heathenish idols in Hamburgh, and introduced Christianity there. Being vexed with the rebellions and frequent tumults of the Saxons near that river, he transported ten thousand of them into Gaul. Crantz is of opinion +, that they were fent into Flanders, which was then only a large forrest and hunting field, with very few inhabitants. The last church he erected was at Hamburgh, of which he made Heridagus prieft, defigning afterwards to create him metropolitan. This good emperor died in the year 814; he faw his fon Lewis the Pious crowned before his death. bart,

^{*} Metropolis, pag. 6. + Ibid. pag. 7, 8. + Ibid. pag. 14.

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hart, one of his prime ministers of state, who wrote his life, gives a great character of him, as one of the best and greatest princes who sway'd that sceptre since Constantine the Great, the first Christian Emperor.

'Tis recorded, that by this Charles the Great the Christian Religion was propagated in Hungary*; for he chased the Hungarians to the mountains of Buda, where, being obliged by famine to furrender, he gave those who embraced the Christian Religion not only their life. but also their liberty and estate: but such as refused this offer, and persisted in their abominable idolatry, he took their estates from them, sparing only their lives. When he had taken the city Sicambria, now called Buda, he exhorted all the inhabitants, that laying afide their idolatry, they would believe in Christ, and worship bim. He erected a temple there, and caused priests to be ordained, to promote the interests of religion. Modestus a clergyman was fent by Thasfilo to the Venedi, who dwelt near the fource of the rivers Save and Drave; he erected churches among them. When he died, Clitomarus their captain fent for other teachers, and upon his defire, Madoldus and Variomarus came to him +. When the Venedi persecuted their chieftain for turning Christian, Thasfilo supported him, that he might be able to punish the rebellious; and Vergilius sent him more teachers, viz. Hamo, Reginovaldus, Marjoranus, Gotharius, Erchinobertus, Reginard, Augustine, and Guntharius, men of piety and learning, who explained the mysteries of our holy religion, and persuaded many of them to reject idolatry, and embrace Christianity.

Elerick, king of the Bulgarians, being in some popular tumult driven out of his country, made a right use of his missfortunes, and retired for safety to Constantinople, where the Emperor Leo III. about the year 778, received him with much honour; and, according to his own request, ordered him to be instructed in the prin-

* Bonfinius, Decad. 1. lib. 9. apud Magdeburg. Centuriatores, Cent. 8. pag. 16.

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+ Aventin. Annalium Bojorum, lib. 3. pag. 304. Hottinger Hist. Eccl. vol. 1. pag. 524.

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ciples of the Christian Religion, which he embraced; created him a Patrician, and married him to a relation

of the empress Irene.

Ingo king of the Venedi perfuaded many of his nobles to embrace Christianity, by this stratagem: He made a great feast, to which he invited both his men of quality and commons; he caused the former to six without doors, where he entertained them only with coarse beef, spoil'd bread, and sour wine in earthen pitchers; but treated the latter with rich fare, where they drank the best of wines in cups of gold and silver. The nobility being highly offended at this contempt done them, he told them, He regaled the commons in this fort, because they were baptized and boly persons, who would sit with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of beaven; but as for them, they were wallowing in the vile puddle of heathenish superstition, which made them nauseous and unsavoury to God and all good men. Thus he caught them by guile, and persuaded them to be instructed and baptized *.

About this time a great part of Spain was not only subdued by the Saracens, but also turned to infidelity +; but Charles the Great recovered that country, from the frontiers of France to Corduba, and delivered the Christians from Mahometan oppression. Thus God ordered in his providence, that while the infidel Saracens gained ground in Asia and Africa, the Christian Religion ex-

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tended its conquests in Europe.

In the ninth century, the little principalities of the Saxon heptarchy being dissolved in England, Egbert king of the West Saxons reigned over that whole country peaceably; till, toward the end of his life, the descent of the Danes made him very uneasy. Since these heathens were so great a scourge not only to this island, but also to other parts of Europe for above two hundred years, 'tis not out of our road to give some account of them. As to their original, they were a collection

^{*} Hottinger Hist. Eccl. pag. 525. vol. 1. + Cent. Magdeburg, Cent. 8. pag. 18.

Chap. 6. Propagation of Christianity.

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lection of the rabble of Germany, especially that part of it which lies upon the Ocean and Baltick. they were compounded of the Goths, Danes, Norvegians, Swedes, Frisians, &c *. All agreed in laziness and barbarity, who gave their minds to nothing but thieving and robbing, having nothing of humanity in them; their business being rather to spoil and destroy, than to conquer: so that tho' they reduced the country to the lowest extremities of want, they looked like Pharaob's lean cows, and were little richer for their They were fo favage as to murder the acquilitions. people without distinction of age, fex or condition, to burn the towns and villages, and lay all in blood and ashes; so as there was scarce any part of the land free from the fury and devastation of this enemy. thefe foreigners over-run the island in a terrible manner, yet their conquests were not so fatal as their manners. Their contempt of religion, and the barbarity of their temper, feemed to spread like a gangrene, and grow epidemical in the country. The liberties of war had debauched the Saxons, and made them more vicious than they were before. 'Tis true, they very far declined in their morals before the invasion of the Danes, which, as Huntingdon + and Hoveden + report, was the caule these barbarous nations were let loose upon them. The English, say these authors ||, were degenerate to a great diffolution of manners; that for libertinism, treason and rebellion, they were particularly infamous, to as nothing but virtue and religion were uncreditable, that it was fcarce fafe for an honest man to live among To punish these impieties, God gave them up to the fury of the Danes, who, where-ever they came, either murdered or made flaves of the inhabitants, rifled and burnt their monasteries and churches, and detroyed all monuments of learning and religion,

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^{*} Collier's Eccl. Hift. of Britain, book iii, pag. 153.

[†] Huntingdon's Hist. lib. 5. in Prolog. Hoveden's Annals, pars prior, fol. 236. Apud Collier, ubi supra, pag. 154.

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In the year 832, the Danes made their first descent upon the isle of Sheppey, and plunder'd it; but 'tis not my bufiness to give an account of their wars and battels, which were many. In a little time, these Pagans over-run the kingdoms of Mercia, Northumberland. and the East Angles, burnt York, and plundered Nottingham, with a great many other confiderable places. The famous monasteries of Croyland, Peterburgh, and Ely, were plundered and destroyed; the monks and nuns killed, the altars and monuments broken and defaced; the churches, cloysters and libraries burnt. They marched further into the country of the East Angles, and defeated earl Wittekul, King Edmund's General; upon the loss of the battel that pious king was taken prisoner, who refusing to comply with their terms, and renounce the Christian Religion, the Danes tied him to a stake, and shot him to death with their arrows. These, and other ravages of these barbarians, had ruined the commonwealth of learning*, and frighted the muses out of the country. The enemy feemed to proclaim war against sense and understanding; they hated to fee the English better polish'd than themselves; and as they plundered the monasteries out of coverousness, so they burnt the libraries out of envy, that there might be nothing remaining to reproach their ignorance. Hence bishop Wulfig, in his letter, as it stands in a preface to Alfred's translation of St. Gregory's pastoral, says, "Indeed knowledge is so entirely vanished from the English, that there are very few on this fide the Humber, that can either translate a piece of Latin, or fo much as understand the liturgy " in their mother tongue." King Alfred, to cure this evil, invited a great many scholars of character to his court, as Joannes Scotus Erigena, our countryman, a great master of the languages and learning, who was murdered in the monastery of Malmsbury; he wrote strongly against the doctrine of Paschasius, who maintamed, That the body of Christ in the eucharist was the

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^{*} Afferius, pag. 18. Vita Alfredi, lib. 3. pag. 132. apud Collier Eccl. Hist. Britan. vol. 1. pag. 165.

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same that was born of the bleffed Virgin. Grimbald, and other foreigners were also invited by this learned king, and there were some men of learning in the country it felf. Alfred founded the university of Oxford, and departed this life in the year 890. As for Scotland, tho' the Danes made several descents upon our country, yet they were foon beat out of it, as appears by our histo-

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If we look into other parts of Europe, Ludovicus Pius, son to Charles the Great, called by the French, Louis le Debonaire, succeeded his father in his kingdom, and in his care to promote Christianity. He removed a college of monks from Corbie on the river Somme in France, to Corbie on the Weser in Saxony. St. Ansgarius was then a youth full of divine love, fays Crantzius +, which prompted him with zeal to preach the Gospel to the northern parts of the world, then under paganism. An occasion soon offered; Harold king of Denmark had been defeated by a competitor, he asked auxiliaries from the Emperor Louis Debonaire, which he was willing to grant, upon condition Harold would embrace the Christian Religion, and be baptized; which the petitioner confenting to do, his wife and nobility there present, were baptized at Meniz. He fought preachers to instruct his people in the same religion. Ansgarius being thought a proper person for so difficult a work, willingly confented, faying, Here am I, send me. Gaudibert went to affist him in that service.

While Harold, with the army, went to Julland, Ansgarius or Anschaire penetrated into the innermost parts of the kingdom; the work of God did prosper in his hand, many being perfuaded to believe on Christ, whom he and his fellow-labourer preached. In a few months they returned, and reported their success; others concurred to promote the same design, and went to the city Birca or Berg in Swedeland, where many of the people believed, and were baptized. Harold and

^{*} Hector Boethius, Buchanan, &c.

[†] Metropolis, lib. 1. cap. 19.

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his army was again defeated, and obliged to retire to Friesland, yet this did not discourage those zealous men; they flayed two years in that country, and then returned to Corbie on the Weser. Anschaire being now in great reputation, the emperor caused him to be confecrated archbishop of Hamburgh, subjecting all the northern kingdoms beyond the Elbe, to his inspection; establishing him Metropolitan, by a decree of the bishops and princes at Worms, in the year 833 *; which the pope ratified, by giving him the pall, and constituting him his legate in the north. Suibert bishop of Vherden, and Tanco his fuccessor, both Scots men +. were useful in this good work of converting these nations to the profession of Christianity: Rotilla the sixth bishop of that see, was also an English or Scots man; the annals do not clearly diffinguish | : many then, moved with a fingular devotion, came from far, to promote the interest of Religion in these parts. But tis not my defign to trouble the reader with the fuccession of bishops in that country, which, those who desire, may find in Crantzii Metropolis. To return to Ansgarius, he visited sometimes the Danes, and at other times, the Saxons on the other fide of the Elbe, and perfuaded many to embrace the faith; when he was hindred by persecution from preaching, he retired to the monastery of Turbold in Flanders, with his disci-Ebo archbishop of Rheims, but afterwards at ples. Hildesbeim, affifted him in preaching; but he, whether wearied of that work, or weakned with bodily infirmity, substituted his nephew Gaudibert, and they confecrated Simon a bishop, and fent him to Swedeland, where Angarius had formerly paved his way. Lewis the Debonaire died in the year 840.

Lotharius his eldest son, who had been before chosen emperor, conceiving he ought to be sovereign over his brethren, took up arms for that purpose; but they uniting their forces, gave him a total deseat at Fontenay,

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^{*} Crantz Metropolis cap. 20. pag. 18. † Crantz Metropolis cap. 20. pag. 19. | Ibidem cap. 29. pag. 23.

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June 25, 841; and being beaten a second time, the next year he came to an accommodation with them. retaining for his share, Italy, Gallia Belgica, fince called Lorain, Provence, and Burgundy. Amidst these commotions, the Danes made an inroad into Germany, befieged Cologn, and burnt Hamburgh. That famous city, fays Crantz*, was either plundered or laid in ashes; the church, the monastery, the library, carefully collected by Ansgarius, were all consumed; Anschaire bimself escaping with difficulty. Gaudibert and Simon were made to flee from Swedeland, by persecution, Vitardus his chaplain, and some others, suffered martyrdom. For seven years Swedeland wanted preachers. Herigarius governour of Birca, was the only person who supported Christianity. Crantz says to that by his gift of miracles and holy exhortations, he faved thousands of Pagans. Hamburgh being destroy'd, where Anschaire had been bishop fixteen years, he was made bishop of Bremen, where he continued eighteen years ||. From thence, he made another visit to Denmark, where he persuaded king Eric to embrace Christianity, and there he erected a church, at a place called Sliasnuigh, on the lake Slia, which church is called to this day by his name. The king giving liberty to every body in his kingdom, to own themselves Christians, a great multitude of heathens believed, and were baptzied. Ansgarius returned to Bremen, and thence made several visits to Denmark. He found difficulty to prevail with any body to go to Sweden, and therefore, having obtained letters of recommendation from king Eric, he adventures thither himself. At Birca or Berg, he met with Olaus king of that country, whom by good providence he found so favourable, as to allow a church to be built there ‡, and every body that pleased to be baptized; he committed the care of advancing the work of God in this country, to Erimbert a presbyter, and returned to his diocess. Pope Nicholas united the bilhopricks

Crantz Metropolis, pag. 30.

^{*} Crantz Metropolis, cap. 33. + Ibidem pag. 27. || Ibidem Lib. 1. pag. 29.

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of Hamburgh and Bremen into one, in favour of Angarius, to whom he gives an ample character, as appears by the bull itself, at large inserted in Crantz's Metropolis*. The Normans and Danes about this time, made great havock in France, ruined the churches, and expelled the priests. Eric the younger king of Denmark. when he first came to the government, raged against the Christians; but Anschaire addressed himself to him. and minding him of the piety, whether of his father or uncle, my author knows not +, to whom he succeeded. he fo pacified him, as he embraced Christianity, and ordered all his people to do the like. After this, and other acts of this kind, wherein he shewed great concern to propagate religion, Anschaire died in the year of our Lord 865 ||. Rembert was ordained bishop of Hamburgh in his room; he ventured upon many dangers both by fea and land, to promote the interest of the Gospel. Notwithstanding all these endeavours to convert the northern nations of Denmark and Sweden, the greater part of them remained heathens, and made many incursions into Germany, laying the country waste wherever they came: Many Christians were ruined by them. At Ebbekstorp these barbarous people committed great abuses; Rembert did all he could to support the Christians who remained, and charitably to relieve the prisoners; he died in the year 888. This is the fum of what I find in Crantz, of propagating Christianity in this century; he observes t, the church of Rome did not then, as afterward in his time, affume a power over the privileges of all the churches, but the Metropolitans did then every thing in their own province.

The people of Bohemia continued for a long time heathens; there were only fome few of them at first converted to Christianity. The Emperor Lewis the Second, in the year 846, having reduced Hungary to his obedience, marched his army against the Bohemians,

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+ Ibidem Lib. i. cap. 41.

^{*} Crantz Metropolis, Lib. 1. cap. 38, 39:

^{||} Crantz Metropolis, cap. 42. pag. 33. ‡ Ibidem Lib. 2. cap. 26. pag. 64.

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whom he fubdued; fourteen of their nobility, with their families, were baptized *; these were the small beginnings of their church. About the year of our Lord 861, Michael the Greek emperor at Constantinople. did fend Methodius to preach the Gospel in that country; and a little after, Cyrillus came upon the same errand, who did instruct that people in the Christian Religion more fully. In the year 894, Borzyvoi duke of Bohemia, having occasion to stay some time with Swatopluczi king of Moravia, was by good providence instructed in our holy religion, and baptized at Olmutz with twenty-three palatines of his country +: He returned home with joy, carrying Methodius along with him, as an Apostle, to convert his subjects; where a feed was fown, by the preaching of the Gospel, that foon ripened to a harvest: Ludomilla the duke's wife, with a great multitude of his nobility and people, being baptized; the idol Krosma, which they before worshipped, being also removed. Duke Borzyvoi, in abundance of places in his country, erected churches and Some authors tell us ||, That the Bohemians did earnestly desire Methodius, not to perform divine service to them in Latin, which they did not understand, but in their native Bohemian or Sclavonian Language. He advised Cyrillus his Collegue, then at Rome, of this question, and submitted it to the determination of Pope Nicholas. When it was debated in the confiftory, they fay a voice was heard, Every spirit shall praise God, and every tongue shall confess to bim. Upon which the pope granted to the Sclavonians, to have divine fervice in their own language. Indeed 'tis inconceiveable, how divine fervice in an unknown tongue, however it be practifed by the church of Rome, can edify any body; far less can it edify or allure heathens and strangers, or persuade them to fall in love with our holy Religion. By

* Regenvolscii Hist. Eccl. Sclavonicarum, Lib. 1. pag. 7. + Hottinger Hift. Eccl. Vol. 1. pag. 656.

Æneas Sylvius Hist. Bohem. Regenvolscii ut supra, pag. 8. Catalogus testium Veritatis, Lib. 9. pag. m. 926.

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By the pious care of Lewis the Debonaire, 'tis faid *. the Huns and Avares, who then inhabited Dacia on the other side of the Danube, opposite to Mæsia, were perfuaded to embrace the Christian Religion; and, that Capanus their king was baptized in the beginning fift

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of this century.

There were also small beginnings of the conversion of the Poles, in this age. Some travellers who went into Bohemia and Moravia, brought the Christian Religion home with them into Poland +. Christians had a free access to the prince's court, and no body is said to have been punished by the heathenish Poles, for professing Christianity; but the national conversion of

that people, was not till the following century.

The country which is now called Bulgaria, became Christian in the primitive times; but about the year of your Lord 500, it was over-run by the Scythians, who, expelling the Christians, made that nation heathenish: yet about the year 870, they were again converted to Christianity ||. In a fynod at Constantinople, there was a long debate, if the Bulgarians, whose ambaffadors were then present, should be subject to the See of Rome, or to that of Constantinople? At last, tho' Basilius protested against it, they were subjected to the See of Rome. Therefore, Pope Adrian, at the people's defire, fent them three eminent men, to teach them ecclesiastick order, who are called by Platina t, Sylvester the Subdean, Leopardus Anconitanus, and Dominicus Tarvisinus; who managed matters according to the pope's defire. But the Bulgarians, in a little time, were prevailed upon by the patriarch of Constantinople, to expel the Latin, and receive Greek priests in their room; which occasioned many debates between the Greek and Latin churches. Zonaras fays **, The fister

† Regenvolscii Hist. Eccl. Sclavonicarum, Lib. 1. pag. 8.

Annalium Tome 3. pag. 125.

^{*} Aventin. Annal. Bojorum, pag. 348, 423. Hottinger Hist. Eccl. Vol. 1. pag. 660. Cent. Magdeburg. Cent. 9. pag. 10.

Hottinger Hist. Eccl. Vol. 1. pag. 657. # De vitis Pontificum in Adrian 2. pag. 122,

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fifter of the prince of Bulgaria being taken prisoner by the Greeks, was baptized, and returning home, persuaded ber brother to embrace the Christian Religion; which he would not consent to, till being vexed with famine, pestilence and other calamities, he hoped our Saviour might afford him relief, which, upon application to him, he found: and therefore he sent for a history to Constantinople, by whom he was instructed in the Christian Religion, and haptized. The heathenish priests raged, and complained of innovations in their way of worship, and stirred up the people to rebellion; but the prince gained a complete victory over his rebellious subjects; which he improved to so good purpose, as to persuade them to embrace Christianity.

I proceed to the tenth century, where we find little in the history of England, that concerns the affair we are now upon. About the year 980, the heathenish Danes landed at Southampton, ravaged the country, and carried off most of the inhabitants; and soon after, the ille of Thanet was over-run by them. Near the fame time, the city and country of Chester was harassed, by a descent of the Norvegians *. King Ethelred finding himself embarassed by the Danes landing in several places, made use of an improper expedient; he purchased peace, by giving the enemy ten thousand pound to retire. This was the wrong metal, fays Malmsbury +; for when these Barbarians perceived the country rich and cowardly, they became more infolent and demanding. They over-run and plundered Northumberland; tho' defeated in a battle, they foon recovered strength, and sat down before London; tho forced to draw off, yet they haraffed the country at discretion. The king despairing to hinder their progress by force, gave them fixteen thousand pound to stop their ravage, and defired their King Anlaf to come to court, giving hostages for his security. While Anlas stayed at the English court, he was persuaded to turn Christian,

^{*} Collier's Eccl. Hift. of Britain, Century 10. pag. 201.

[†] De Gestis Anglorum, Lib. 2. fol. 35. apud Collier ubi supra.

Tro Propagation of Christianity. Cent. X.

Christian, and to promise, never more to return to England. But this proved no lasting relief, Denmark was always pouring in new adventures and fresh forces; Devonshire selt the sury of the invasion, the country was ruined, the monasteries battered down, and the city of Exeter laid in ashes. After these devastations, the enemy reimbarked, and landed in Kent, harassed the country, burnt Canterbury, and made a marryr of archbishop Ephegus: in short, as Malmsbury reports, sixteen of the thirty two counties in England, lay in a great measure at the enemies mercy; the war was followed with famine, and the English gave the enemy yet greater

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prefents of money, to withdraw their forces.

Tho' there were fome dawnings of the conversion of the Danes to Christianity, in the former century, as has been already narrated, yet a work of this kind is not foon perfected, if an apostolick spirit be wanting. We shall find some further progress in this affair, in this age; but they were a very rugged people, and difficult to be managed: for about the year 913, these Barbarians joined with the Vandals, and made an incursion into Hamburgh, demolished the church, and scattered the Christians; which was the fourth time they ruined that city, fince it became Christian, as Crantz obferves *. The first was in the time of Charlemaign; the fecond when Ansgarius was made to flee to Ramsola; the third while Rembert prefided over the Christians there; and now was the fourth time, when they treated the Christian Churches with all manner of Barbarity and Contempt; as they did twice in the following century, viz. in the years 1000 and 1066 +. Gormo king of Denmark did what he could to extirpate Christianity out of his country; he banished all the priefts, and killed many of them by cruel torments | Henry, the first of that name, emperor of Germany, furnamed the Fowler, having reduced Arnauld duke of Bavaria, and overcome the Hungarians, Bohemians and Sclavonians,

^{*} Metropolis Lib. 3. Cap. 2. Pag. 69.

[†] Ibidem cap. 3. | Crantzii Metropolis, Lib. 3. cap. 5. Pag. 71.

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ns and mians, Sclavonians, entered Denmark with a powerful army, in the year 931, and so terrified Gormo, as he was willing to be at peace with him upon any terms. Unni, a venerable bishop at Hamburgh, took hold of this occasion to promote Religion, where he found it not so easy to bring over Gormo to Christianity, tho he was married to Tirra, a religious woman he had got in England; but by his preaching, exhortations and good conduct, he gained his fon Harold, the young prince, to be zealous for our holy Religion. Having ordained bishops and priests in Denmark, and instructed and edified many with whom some seeds of Christianity were remaining, he failed to Birca in Swedeland; where, from the time of Angarius, for seventy years, they had almost no body to instruct them, except a little time Rembert had been among them. When Unni had done all he could for the instruction of this barbarous people, he died among them in the year 936*. Adaldagus succeeded him in the bishoprick of Hamburgh; he had formerly preached in Denmark, and was admitted to familiar access with king Harold: the Danes refusing to perform the conditions of peace they had promifed to king Henry, Otho the first, his fucceffor, marched an army against them; having obtained the victory, king Harold engaged as one of the conditions of peace, to establish Christianity in his kingdom; his wife Eunichild, with his fon Sueno, were baptized; the emperor called his fon Zuen Otto +: three bishopricks were erected in Denmark; one Harold was ordained bishop of Slefwick, Liafdag of Rypen, and Rembrand of Arthusen ||, to whom the Danish islands were also subjected: this was a beginning of a Christian church in Denmark, which remains even to this day. Crantz fays t, That Adaldag fat bishop of Hamburgh 54 years, even to the time of the Emperor Otho the third; that he ordained a great many more bishops for Denmark, whose names he mentions, but the seats to

^{*} Crantz Metropolis Lib 3. cap. 6. & cap. 16. Pag. 78. + Crantzii Metropolis, Pag. 79.

[‡] Ibidem cap. 38. Pag. 93:

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which they were fixed, are not upon record, fince they went from place to place preaching the Gospel, and instructing fouls where they might have prospect of fuccefs. It feems thefe bishops were very laborious. Odincar the elder and younger went to Sweden and Norway, to promote the kingdom of Christ. Zueno or Zuen Otto, the fon of Harold, tho' baptized in his youth, vet when he came to the kingdom, perfecuted the Christians, but was defeated in battle by Erick. In his time, the Gospel made some progress in Norway, Olaus the fon of king Truton being baptized **; preachers were also sent to Swedeland. Upon the death of Erick, Zueno again got possession of the kingdom of Denmark, and was more favourable to the Christians, About this time the Gospel went to Pomeren *, and those places of Germany, that lie upon the Baltick sea; but that country was not then by far so populous, nor had fo great cities, as at this day.

In Poland there were some small beginnings of Christianity in the former century, but the national converfion of that kingdom, was in the tenth age. Miceflaus king of the Poles having married Dambrowka a Christian princess, daughter to Boleslaus duke of Bohemia; when she was brought home to Guesna with a great retinue, Micestaus himself embraced Christianity, and was baptized in the year 965. After this, he applied himself to promote the interest of our holy Religion, both in Poland and Silefia, which last was then part of his kingdom. He took care to build, adorn and enrich churches in cities and villages, every one being more zealous than another, to advance fo good a work. Some of these churches, says Regenvolscius, who wrote in the seventeenth century +, remain to this day, as one at Lublin, another at Sendomir, dedicated to the Virgin Mary, adorned with pictures, after the fashion of the Greeks, who were the first preachers of the Christian Religion in that kingdom, and also in Bohemia and

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^{**} Crantzii Metropolis, Lib. 3. cap. 44. Pag. 98.

^{*} Ibidem Lib. 3. cap. 30. pag. 88. † Hist. Eccl. Sclavonicarum, Trajecti 1652. pag. 8, 9.

Chap. 6. Propagation of Christianity.

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and Moravia; and after, Cyrillus and Methodius explained Religion, according to the rites of the Greek Church, from which regions, many ecclefiafticks were brought into Poland. It was then the custom of the Poles, that when the Gospel was read by the priests at the altar, they drew their fwords half out of the scabbards, as declaring they would defend their holy profession at all hazards; and when the people did anfwer, Glory to the Lord, they put them up again: which custom long remained in that country. The first reformer of the church in Poland, was called Woyciech; he was the second bishop of Prague in Bohemia, was educated in the Greek church, and became the apostle and teacher of the Poles; he went to preach the Gospel in Prussia, where he was murdered by those Barbarians, April 23d, 997. Miceslaus the first Christian King in Poland, died in the year 999. The Religion of the Poles was then more conformable to the Gospel, than to the rites, traditions and customs contrary to the Word of God, afterward introduced by the church of Rome.

In this age the Christian Religion was introduced into Moscovy: 'tis indeed alledged, that Andrew the Apostle, leaving Greece, failed up the river Borysthenes, and came to Novogrod, and there preached the Gospel. But Christianity was afterwards extirpated out of Moscovy, by Pagans who made themselves masters of the country, till in the year 989*, Prince Woldimar, then duke of Russia, gave the pagans a fignal overthrow, and reunited feveral provinces to his crown, that had been dismembred from it; he became so famous for his great atchievements, that Basilius and Constantine Porphyrogeniti, emperors of Constantinople, sent ambassadors to congratulate his fuccess: by their conversation and instructions, and by the marriage of Anna, sister to these emperors, in the year 990, he was induced to embrace the Christian Faith. John Curopolata, who wrote a part

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^{*} Crull's present State of Moscovy, printed at London 1698, Vol. 1. Chap. 2.

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of the Byzantine hiftory, in the eleventh century, as also Cedrenus and Zonaras, who wrote after him, attribute the conversion of the Rushans to a miracle, performed by a bishop that was fent thither by the patriarch of Constantinople, to instruct and baptize the These insides having objected to him, that fince God preferved Daniel's companions in the fiery furnace, why might not, with the fame, or more reafon, the Bible be preserved by God's power, from being confumed in the fire? The bishop having told them, he was affured he could not ask any thing of God by prayer, but what he would obtain, threw the Bible into a great fire made for that purpose, where it remained till the fire was all spent, and was taken out as intire and untouched, as when it was cast in. At which, Woldinar being moved, abolished idolatry, and in the room therof, planted Christianity in all his territories.

The Ruffians deduce the origin of their Religion from the Greek church, tho' they differ in many rites from them; they shew abundance of respect to the Greeks, which the poor Grecian monks, who frequently come from other parts into Moscowy, know how to improve to their own advantage. They found their Religion upon the Books of the Old and New Testament; they do not bring the whole Bible into the church, tho' they are allowed to read it at home, but they carry only the New Testament, and some chosen places of the Psalms and Prophets to the church. bout fixty years ago, fays my author *, they got the Bible translated into the Russian language; whereas they pretend they follow the footsteps of the seventy interpreters. They have also a book, they call, The bistory of the Gospel, but adulterated with fables. As to the explication of the holy Scriptures, they follow Cyril bishop of Ferusalem, John Damascen, Gregory Nazianzen, and Ephraim the Syrian. The creed of Albanasius is the confession of their Faith; but they have received a great many superstitious

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^{*} Crull's present State of Moscowy, printed at London 1698.
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itious 1698. perstitious rites, and place the centre of their devotion rather in outward ceremonies, than in the internal part of Religion. They pay their veneration to the Virgin Mary, the Evangelists and Apostles, and to a great number of other faints, not only as interceffors, but as co-operators, fays the fame author *, of their falvation; for they pay to their faints and images all the honour due to God Almighty. There is never a family, how small soever, in Moscovy, but what hath its tutelar faint's image, to whom their ignorant people pay their daily devotion; and all the religious instruction they give to their children, confifts in no more, than to stand up with a great respect and say their prayers before these images. As to the rest of the Religion of the Moscovites, they place a great excellency in good works, which they believe to be meritorious, as building of monasteries and churches, giving alms, &c. In baptism, they dip their children in cold water, use godfathers and godmothers, and baptize much after the rites of the Greek church, whom they also imitate in administring the Lord's Supper; they mix warm water with wine, according to the council of Constantinople, fignifying the water that came forth with the blood from our Saviour's fide; they give both kinds at once to communicants †. Their fasts and festivals, for number and manner of observation, are much the same with the Greek church, only the Russians have rather more of them. There are few days in the year but what are dedicated to one faint or another. these fifty years past they are more strict in observing Fast-days and Sundays than before; for by edicts from the patriarch, they are not to open shops, or sell Aquavitæ on those days. They do not make use in their service of any sermons or instructions to their auditors, but only read passages out of the Bible, and some homilies; yet go to church thrice a day. They fuffer not any images that are carved or graven either In

^{*} Crull's present State of Moscovy.

[†] See Harris's compleat Collection of Travels, Vol. 2. pag. 238, & feq.

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in churches or houses, because these are forbidden in the Decalogue; only they use images painted with oil upon wood, not done by foreigners, but by men of their own Religion, who have no good skill in limning: however, they have abundance of these images in their churches, with wax candles burning before them, and are at pains to learn to cross themselves by art when they come near them. Those of their churches that are of stone, are all round and vaulted, because, sav they, fuch are liker to heaven, and they have a cross on the top. They allow no strangers nor a dog to come within their churches; if they do, great care is taken to purify the temple. They are most severe in their abstinence and mortifications on fast days and Lent; but when these are over, make great debauches,

as also in the first week of long Lent.

The Muscovite hierarchy consists of one patriarch, who resides in the city of Moscow, four metropolitans, feven archbishops, and one bishop, with a great number of archdeans, protopopes and priefts. The patriarch has the fame, if not a greater authority than the pope in the Latin Church: Such is his power in all matters of Religion, that he reforms whatever he thinks prejudicial to Religion or good manners, without giving any account to the Czar; yet not so, but his orders must be put in execution by the Czar's commands. The patriarch of Constantinople had heretofore the nomination of the patriarch of Moscovy, till, in process of time, he had only the confirmation; at prefent he has loft both, and the patriarch is chosen by the Czar and the prelates. The Moscovites pay great respect to the priests Calotte, tho' when they're angry, they'll pull off the Calotte and cudgel the prieft, and when this is done, put it on again with great respect; and they are liable to no other punishment than if they had cudgell'd a laick. The patriarch, metropolitans, archbishops, and the bishop, are not allowed to marry as long as they continue in that dignity; but the protopopes, popes, and temple priefts are not only allowed, but obliged to marry once, and that a maid, not a widow. A prieft,

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after his wife dies, is not allowed to administer the Sacrament, or affift at noon-fervice, or bless a marriage, only to affift at morning and evening fervice; neither can he marry a fecond time, unless he lay down his caffock and calotte, and turn laick. There are a great many monasteries all over Moscovy, both for men and women, in city and country; beside the Anchorites, who build their chapels on highways, and live in woods like hermits, fubfifting only on alms from travellers, following the rule of St. Basil. The liberal endowments of monasteries is now in some measure curbed; for those who go to them are allowed only to take a certain part of their estates with them, and leave the rest to their heirs; they do not live fo close in them, but they come often abroad, and follow the employments of other peasants. Poverty, old age, infirmities, and domestick contests, are the chief inducements of those that embrace this life, few chusing it out of devotion. And 'tis no wonder, fince most of them, according to the general education of the Moscovites, can scarce read or write; not one in ten can fay the Lord's Prayer, and those of them who are acquainted with the Creed and Ten Commandments, are looked on as men of great learning. But the present Czar or Emperor of Russia, is endeavouring to oblige his subjects to make improvements in knowledge and learning, of which we may hear more afterward *. So far concerning the conversion of the Moscovites to Christianity, and of their Religion.

In this century 'tis recorded, that Methodius archbishop of Moravia, converted Worzyvoi the last pagan duke of Bohemia, with his wife Ludomilla, and that they were baptized in the year 905 †. Liptineus king of Bohemia became a christian in the year 921 ||, and promoted our Religion in his dominions. The Emperor Otho restored the Christian Religion in Sclavonia, and many churches were with great diligence erected there ±.

^{*} Near the End of Chapter VIII.

[†] Shedelius apud Cent. Magdeburg, Cent. 10. cap. 2. pag. 8. Ibid. ‡ Ibid. pag. 10.

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Eric Stenchil King of Sweden, took care to enlarge the kingdom of Christ in his dominions. Providence bleffed his endeavours; for 'tis recorded *, that while a heathenish priest was offering facrifice, he was struck with blindness, so as he could not see to go on with his work, but was obliged to acknowledge the justice of God, and turning to Christ, miraculously received his Thankful for fo great a deliverance, he rejected heathenish idolatry, and became a preacher of the Gospel; the people were so much affected, that with great zeal multitudes embraced Christianity, and were baptized. King Eric obtained two other teachers from the archbishop of Bremen, Adalvard and Steven, men famous for piety and learning, to whom he committed the care of the churches. Thus in a little time the church of Christ increased, and heathenish idolatry was extirpated in that kingdom; especially since Olaus, furnamed Schot-Konig, did not only imitate his father Eric, but did even exceed him in piety and zeal for Religion.

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The conversion of the Normans in this century, deferves also to be noticed. They were a people who came from the North, as their name imports; having, with their pyracies, infested the sea coasts of several countries, at last they landed in France in the reign of Charles the Bald, and dreadfully wasted and ruined that country for eighty years, obliging the French to pay tribute; and these sums of money served only to allure them the more to make their incursions. At length, they got possession of Neustria or Normandy; they seized Roan, and laid fiege to Paris, so affrighting the inhabitants of that great city, that they made it a part of their publick prayers, That God would please to deliver them from the fury of the Normans. The bishops of Rheims and Roan thought the best way to tame this savage enemy was, to perfuade them to embrace Christianity. Some few of them were baptized, but they soon returned to their old infidelity. King Charles the Simple made a treaty

^{*} Olai magni Hist. Goth. apud Cent. Magdeburg, ubi supra

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with them, and gave his daughter Giesla in marriage to Rollo their commander, and bestowed upon him the province of Normandy, with the title of a Duke, upon condition of doing homage for it to the king of France. This was done in the year 912. Rollo submitted himself to be instructed and baptized by Franco archbishop of Rheims, taking the name of Robert. A great part of the Normans sollowed the example of their leader, and embraced Christianity, and with the Religion, received also the language and manners of the French*. The Normans have so great an esteem for their first duke, that in any strait they seem to call him to their assistance, in a common exclamation, Ha Row, used only by themselves.

I proceed now to the eleventh Century. About the year 1001, Christianity made a considerable progress in the kingdoms of Sweden and Norway, by the assistance of some English priests, who, at the desire of Olas or Olas king of Sweden, were sent by Ethelred king of England. The heads of the mission were Sigesrid archdeacon of York, Eschil, Gunichild, Rudolf, and Bernard +. These holy men were very successful in their undertaking, answered the King's expectation, and made idolatry give way wherever they came.

The Danes made many ravages in England in the beginning of this century, even the many of them now professed Christianity; particularly upon the taking of Canterbury, in the year 1011, where Ephegus the bishop suffered martyrdom, which is very pathetically described by Collier ||. But about the year 1042, the country was cleared of these oppressors, and after this was no more troubled with invasions or depredations

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^{*} Flodoardus in Rhemensi Historia, Lib. 4. Francorum Annales apud Spanhemium in Hist. Christiana, Col. 1422. Morery's Dictionary on the Word Normandy.

[†] Adam Bremen, Lib. 2. cap. 40. Olai magni Histor. Goth. Lib. 17. cap. 20. apud Collier's Hist. of Britain, Vol. 1. pag. 206 | Collier's History of Britain, Vol. 1. pag. 209, 210.

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Before I leave England, allow me to observe, That William of Normandy, by his victory over King Harold, in the year 1066, procured at one blow the crown of England, and the furname of Conqueror. After this Norman conquest and downward, Christianity was still kept up in that nation; they never degenerated into heathenism or infidelity; tho' King John is faid to have offered to forfake Christianity and become Mahometan. if he could obtain affiftance in his defigns from Mirammumalim the Moor, the great king of Africa, Morocco and Spain: but it was a very corrupt Christianity that prevailed in these times, Religion was full of superstition, idolatry and ignorance; ecclefiaftical tyranny and cruelty prevailed. Yet even then, when things were at the worst, there wanted not some who had brighter and more scriptural notions of things divine, and were zealous for pure and scriptural worship; particularly in the reign of Edward III. between the years 1370 and 1380, that great man Wickliff, was raised up by God in that land, to oppose the corruptions of the church of Rome; and he had many followers, who were called Lollards, by way of contempt, yet continued down to the time of the Reformation, both in England and Scotland. They were fo inflamed with zeal, that no feverities used against them could be able to extirpate them; several of our princes and great men favoured them, in oppofition to the pope, and his tyrannical encroachments, of which they were weary. The scripture was translated into our mother tongue, and read by many; and fuch feeds of facred truth were difperfed, and fown in various quarters of the land, as fprang up many years after, and helped to produce a plentiful harvest, when Almighty God, to show forth his glory, brought about the Reformation from Popery; the benefit of which is yet enjoyed, and may posterity after us do the same for ever. These things happened in different ages.

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To return to the propagation of Christianity, and overthrow of Paganism in the eleventh century: Albert Krantz informs us *, That Canutus king of Denmark returning

Metropolis Lib. 4. cap. 3. pag. 103.

returning conqueror out of England, brought several bishops from that country, of whom he made Bernard bishop in Schonen, Gerbrand in Zealand, and Reiner in Finland. The bishop of Schonen may be the same Bernard spoke of before, but the rest of the names differ. Thus Christianity did increase in Denmark, tho' Crantz observes *, they sometimes apostatized, as in the year 1066, but were again restored to the profession of our holy Religion.

Unni bishop of Hamburgh found many reliques of Paganism in his diocess; the people yet worshipped in groves: all which he removed. Crantz says +, That Albert, archbishop of Hamburgh, ordained and sent bishops to the remote northern countries of Iceland and Groenland, saying, The harvest is great, the labourers sew, pray the Lord of the harvest, to send forth labourers into

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We have formerly observed some beginnings of a Christian church in Hungary in the eighth century, and 'tisalfo reported, that King Geyfa founded fome churches there in the tenth age; yet the nobility and great men adhered to the worship of heathenish idols, which was publickly practifed. But our Redeemer, in this century, did, with an outstretched arm, make conquest in that kingdom, raifing up pious rulers, and a zealous clergy to promote his interests. Adalbert bishop of Prague, with his companions, did fow the feed of the Word in many places of that nation; he instructed and baptized King Stephen ||. Astric with his disciples erected a monaftery near the foot of the iron mines; he opened a school, and set many teachers to work. Bonifacius preached in the lower Hungary. King Stephen, by strict laws, commanded idolatry to be abolished, and Christianity to be publickly professed, ordering severe punishments against blasphemers and contumacious oppofers of Religion; he erected feveral bishopricks, which are faid to have been confirmed by the pope's authority.

^{*} Metropolis Lib. 4. cap. ult. pag. 132. † Ibidem Lib. 5. cap. 18. pag. 150, 151, { Cent. Magdeburg, Cent. XI. cap. 2. pag. 9.

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authority. In all this the King was much encouraged by his Queen Giesla, the daughter of the Emperor Henry II. She was a zealous Christian, and stirred up her husband to promote our Religion thro' his whole dominions; fo as about the year 1010, the body of that people began to be instructed and baptized, and many churches and monasteries were founded and erected. In Alba Regalis a church was built to the Virgin Mary; for the superstition of the church of Rome did then very far prevail. The monastery of Peter and Paul was fet up at Buda. Giula the prince of Transilvania being defeated and taken prisoner, the people, either by force, or willingly professed Christianity; the prince himself, with his wife and children, were baptized, and fet at liberty. The Bulgarians were also subdued by King Stephen, and perfuaded to profess Christianity *. Misca a duke in Poland, with his people, were about the fame time converted. The people of Misnia were persuaded to receive the Gospel, by Wilbert bishop of Mersburg, about the year 1007 +.

In the reign of Andrew king of Hungary, some Hungarians shewed their inclination to return to Paganism; but the king, by a just edict, did command all his subjects not to desert Christianity, which they had embraced under the reign of Stephen his predecessor, and gave orders to build and repair churches and monasteries. In the year 1047, King Stephen was canonized a faint; the church of Rome have many sabulous stories about him | in their le-

gends.

Since we are now upon the progress of Christianity, by the decay of infidelity, 'tis not far out of our road, to observe the triumphs of Christians against Mahometans. The Saracens had got footing in Sicily, and their governors, who were called Emirs, maintained themselves at Palermo,

† Chronicon Mersburgense ibidem. Vide Spanhemii filii Hist. Christianam, in Folio, Col. 1512,

^{*} Bonfinius Dec. 2. Lib. 9. apud Magdeburgenses, Cent. XI, cap. 2.

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Palermo, from 827 to 1070, when they were driven thence by the Normans, under the conduct of Robert. Guichard and Roger. The last of these erected a little monarchy there, he was father of William I, furnamed The Bad; his daughter Constance transferred the kingdom to the Emperor Henry VI. her husband: but I am not to meddle with the various revolutions in that island. In the year 969, the Emperor Otho the Great did beat the Saracens out of Italy, and the isle of Crete. now called Candia; greater advantages had been gained over them, if the emperors at Constantinople had improved their opportunity, but their ambition and intestine commotions did extinguish all endeavours for the publick good. The Genoese and Pisans recovered Sardinia from these insidels. In the eleventh century, the Saracen kingdom of Cordova began to decline and evanish, two hundred and fixty-nine years after it was founded. The kings of Castile and Portugal prospered against these infidels, who being divided into many little kingdoms, were more eafily ruined: So as the Christians, about the year 1150, did recover out of their hands the kingdoms of Valencia, Murcia, Carthagena, Alicant, Cordova, Sevil, with some other considerable places; and nothing remained to the Moors in Spain, but only the kingdom of Granada, which they retained till the fifteenth century, when they were chased out of it by Ferdinand the Great, or the Catholick.

I don't design to insist upon the history of the Holy War, by which the Saracen empire sustained a mighty shock: only upon this head shall observe, that Peter the hermit, a clergyman in Picardy, having travelled to Jerusalem, and being affected with the lamentable state of Christians there, groaning under the oppression of Saracens, and that the holy city, and sepulchre of our Lord, were in the hands of insidels; he so represented the matter to the pope, and he to the Christian princes in Europe, promising pardon of sins, and entrance into paradise, to all who would undertake to recover these holy places from the hands of insidels; as incredible

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numbers were raised over all Europe, who with innumerable hazards and losses went into Palestine, where Godfrey of Bulloign took Jerusalem in the year 1099. and possessed it a considerable time; but all his succesfors, and all Christian princes, were driven from it in the year 1298. During these two hundred years, 'tis almost incredible what numbers of Christians perished by fword, famine, pestilence, and other calamities, in that, to call it no worse, so ill-concerted expedition; and in the end, all their conquests turned to nothing. M. Chevreau* calls the number of those who lost their lives in that war, on the Christian side, sive hundred thousand; tho', if we enter into a detail of particulars, I conceive there will be found a great deal more. Nothing but ruin could be expected, when the Christians left the body of the Mahometan kingdoms behind them, and had no communication with their friends in the West, but by a long tract of sea; when princes left their own kingdoms to the pope to exercise his tyranny over them, and did not aim to ruin the infidels, but only to recover fome holy places about ferusalem, to favour papal superstition. Thus, I have at once given a short view of some events concerning these Mahometan infidels, tho' they happened in different centuries.

There were still some parts of Europe, where the dregs of Paganism remained, which were in a great measure removed in the twelfth century. The inhabitants of the isle of Rugen, in the Baltick sea, on the coast of Pomerania, near Stralsund, had professed Christianity about the year 813, and received baptism, after they were deseated by Eric king of Denmark; but they relapsed again into Paganism, and continued in that apostasy till about the year 1168 †. Woldimar king of Denmark having reduced their garrisons to his obedience, and subdued their island, he obliged them to renounce idolatry, to set all Christians who were their

* Hist. du Monde, Part 3.

[†] Crantzius in Vandalia, lib. 5. cap. 15, 16. Cent. magd. Cent. 12. cap. 3. pag. 13.

Chap. 6. Propagation of Christianity.

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their prisoners at liberty, and to receive priests, who should dispense to them the mysteries of the Christian Religion, according to the rites of the church of Denmark. Jaremarus their prince being baptized, taught his people the principles of religion, and the body of that barbarous island was brought to some more sense of piety.

Eric king of Swedeland having subdued Finland, did promote Christianity in that country *; it seems these Northern princes, now that they were become Christians themselves, had such a zealous regard to religion, as to propagate it among others who continued

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Livonia being subdued by Christian Princes, was converted to the faith by Meinardus, about the year 1186; he was ordained by the archbishop of Bremen, and went with some merchants of Lubeck into Livonia, where, having fixed his habitation, he taught the people the doctrine of religion †. Bertholdus about the year 1190, was very useful to promote the conversion of that country; he was abbot of the Livonian knights; which order was instituted to promote the conversion of these Barbarians, who being dull and obstinate, 'tis said the rough way of the sword, that the knights used, was more effectual than the remonstrances of the priess. This order was united to the Teutonick, or the knights of Prussia, in 1234, and was abolished by Sigismund king of Poland, in the year 1587.

The country near Lubeck, is recorded to have been converted to Christianity by Vicelinus, a priest, sent thirther by the archbishop of Bremen, about the year

1134 \$.

Boleslaus duke of Poland, having defeated the Pomeranians, with great flaughter, carried many of them into captivity; others who promised to embrace Christianity,

* Cent. Magdeb. cent. 12. cap. 3. pag. 13.

[†] Hottinger Hist. Eccl. Vol. 3. Sæc. 12. Sect. 3. pag. 234. Crantz. Vandalia, lib. 6. cap. 6.

Great Historical Dictionary, Edition 1694. in Livonia. Crantzii Metropolis, cap. 11—14. pag. 170—172.

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flianity, were left with their prince at home; and Otho, bishop of Bamberg*, preached the Gospel to them, which was effectual, thro' the blessing of God, to their conversion. The Magdeburgick Centuriators +, have the copy of the letter of Boleslaus, to this bishop, encouraging him in this work, and fix the time thereof about

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Crantzius tells us ||, That the Vandals made a lamen. table apostasy into Paganism, which continued eighty-four years, that is, from 1066, to 1150, when they returned to Christianity, and never again made an intire defection from it. The same author informs us t, That about this time Benno bishop of Mecklenburg, found Nicholtus prince of that country, with his sons, serving heathenish idols, whom he endeavoured to reform, and persuade to embrace our boly religion. I conceive we need not think it ftrange, that some of these people apostatised, when we confider that many of them who then embraced our religion, were not instructed therein, nor had ever tafted the fweet power and efficacy thereof upon their own spirit; and were gained to abandon heathenish idols, and profess the truth, by such rugged methods as we have heard of, rather than by the fweet calm voice of the Gospel, rationally enlightning the mind, and perfuading the foul to embrace our Redeemer.

In the thirteenth Century, almost all Europe, and many other parts of the world, had then received the Christian Faith, yet in some places our religion made a further progress. Ferdinand III. king of Spain, did beat the Insidel Mahometan Saracens out of the island Majorca**, and the city Valencia, which did again receive Christianity about the year 1227. The Danes did promote our religion in Esthonia, and settled a bishoprick at Revel ††.

^{*} Ibidem lib. 6. cap. 5. pag. 167.

[†] Cent. 12. cap. 2. | Metropolis, lib. 6. cap. 27.

[#] Ibidem, cap. 39. page 187.—— ** Cent. Magdeb. Cent. 13. cap. 2. page 3. ++ Ibidem.

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It is also recorded by historians*, that in this century fome Tartarians submitted to Christ. Haiton, king of Armenia, observing the Saracens to increase to such mighty power in Palestine, was afraid of them, and sent his brother to Mango, the great Chan of Tartary. He having obtained a fafe conduct, comes to court, and persuaded the great Chan to embrace the Christian Religion, and oppose the Mahometans, and obtained a great army, with which he returned to the affiftance of his brother. Others fay +, that some Tartarian princes in Asia received the Christian Religion, and did great things in Syria and Persia, in conjunction with their allies the Armenians, against the Saracens and Egyptians; one of them was called Cassanus, and his fuccessors in Persia retained that name. Other authors say #, that Mongu Chan of Tartary, the fifth after Ginlis Chan, was converted by his wife, daughter of Haiton king of Armenia, and baptized with his brother Alan or Heilon, with his whole family; that Alan led an army into Palestine, having on his standard the image of Christ crucified, to recover Jerusalem from the Infidels. However, in a little time the Tartars revolted to their infidelity, for at this day most part of them are Mahometans or Pagans. Hottinger calls them Sagomorbarei, because they have one Sagomorbar Chan for their great prophet, (as the Turks have Mahomet:) he left them many of his dictates concerning one God, and relating to their policy and manners. Among the constitutions the successors of Ginlis Chan swear to observe, even to this day, this is one, That they will not persecute the Christians, nor exact more tribute from them than others. Hottinger ‡ imputes the cause of their apostasy to the superstitions the Franciscan and Dominican populs missionaries imposed upon these new converts; which is even oprick owned by Bezovius. The learned Spanbeim doubts of the truth of the whole story **; but I don't see any solid It reason

^{*} Hottinger Hist. Eccl. parte 4. pag. 517. and Authors there cited.

⁺ Genebrard, pag. 635.

Cromeri Pol. lib. 9. pag. 685. apud Hottinger. ubi supra.

[#] Hottinger, ut supra, pag. 518.

^{**} Spanhemii F. Historia Christiana, Folio, Col. 1696.

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reason for questioning the whole, even the authors have different ways of telling it. There are even to this day many Christians scattered up and down Tartary, and too many of them tainted with the Nestorian heresy *.

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The inhabitants of Prussia, or Borussia, continued long in heathenish idolatry; but in this century, the knights of the Teutonick order, returning from the holy war in Syria, took possession of their country, about the year 1230 †; they built the city Marienburg in Royal Prussia, and are said to have propagated Christianity there; at least, to make that people subject to Gregory IX. then pope of Rome.

About the same time, the Waldenses and Albigenses made a noble appearance for the purity of doctrine, worship, and government of the church of Christ, in opposition to the corruptions of the church of Rome; many of them resisted to the blood, and were slain for the testimony which they held. But my design limits me to the propagating of Christianity among heathens:

And therefore, I go to

The fourteenth Century, in which there were too many remainders of paganism, since there were any; but alas! the clergy, whose work it ought to have been to promote the light of the Gospel, did rather confirm people in their error, than bring them into the right way: The ignorance, delusion, and idolatry of the church of Rome, had so corrupted the minds and manners of men, that they had no thought of the great interests of religion; and therefore, there is little to be remarked of the conversions of nation in this age.

The people in the great dukedom of Lithuania, were among the last in Europe, who remained in heathenish idolatry. Keckerman says, The Lithuanians were devoted to the superstitious worship of many Gods, or rather devils; for they adored fire, they gave divine honour

|| Systema Log. Plen. P. 2. pag. 461. Hottinger Hist, Eccl. Vol. 3. Szc. 14. pag. 867.

^{*} Gotofredi Archontologia Cosmica, lib. 2. pag. 176. + Spanhemii F. Hist. Christiana, Col. 1645.

Chap. 6. Propagation of Christianity.

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to thunder, which they called Perunum; they so esteemed groves, and some stately trees in woods, as it was criminal to lift an ax against them; if any body presumed to do it, they said, the devil would inflict some strange punishment upon him; they believed vipers and serpents to be a fort of deities; they kept them like boushold goods, and offered them milk and cocks; the whole family was threatned with ruin, if any of them were killed; they had a solemn sacrifice in October, after harvest, where they convened with their wives, children, and servants, and feasted upon those things they had offered and sacrificed to these gods: When they returned from wars, they burnt the spoils they had taken, and one of the prisoners in the fire. Jagello, great duke of Lithuania, married Hedwige, daughter of the king of Poland, on these terms. that he should become Christian; and failing heirs male, should be king of Poland. In performance of these articles, he was baptized February 12th, 1386, and was created king of Poland, by the name of Uladiflaus V. and enjoyed that crown forty-eight years. He erected a bishoprick at Vilna, the metropolis of Lithuania, and with the affiftance of the clergy, did extirpate heathenish idolatry, and propagate Christianity there *. Lithuania was, for ever, united to the crown of Poland, in the year 1569; tho' popery be the established religion, yet there are many protestants in that country, to whose affistance, in their diffressed condition, the Church of Scotland did fend, a few years ago, a noble charitable supply.

About the end of the fourteenth, and beginning of the fifteenth century, Tamerlane, or Timur-Lenc, as Hottinger, from Arabian authors calls him +, made a great figure in the world: He was not born of a shepherd, nor infamous for robbery, as the Turkish and Saracene authors, who mightily hate him, do report; but was a prince of the posterity of Zinchis-Chan, who reigned in Zagathai, in the western parts of Tartary,

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^{*} Hottinger, ubi supra. Conor's History of Poland, Vol. 1. Letter 2. † Hist. Eccl. Szc. 15. de Gingis Chanismo.

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where the city Samarchand was their royal feat; after with triumphant arms he had fubdued many rich provinces, at the defire of Manuel the Greek emperor at Constantinople, and other Christian Princes, who had been over-run and oppressed by Bajazet the fourth king of the Turks, he came into the leffer Asia, with an army of eight hundred thousand men, by whom he intirely routed Bajazet, in the great battle near Mount Stella, the particulars whereof are largely deduced by Knolls*, and other historians. Bajazet himself was taken prisoner. and as a just recompence of his intolerable pride, ended his life in miserable flavery. After this victory, Timur-Lenc subdued all Tartary, Persia, and a great part of India, and lived till he was near ninety years of age, fhewing great favour to the Christians, and especially to learned men. The Great Moguls in the East Indies are descended of his posterity. 'Tis also recorded of this mighty Tamerlane +, That he conquered the Moscovites, brought China under his power, and by his victories over the Turks, established the Greek emperor in his dominions, and subdued Egypt; he had with him many Christians, skilful in several arts and sciences, whom he brought from all places where he had been with his armies. Axalla a Genoese, who had been bred up with him, was a Christian, and in great favour and authority under him. The Christians were his best and chiefest soldiers, upon whom he most relied; he reposed as much trust and confidence in them, as in his natural subjects, and more than in the most zealous Mahometans. He gave out orders all over his vast empire, that Christians should have the free exercise of their religion, and that Christ should be bonoured and reverenced by all men; and the Christian worship was daily performed in his army. This emperor had in his dominions many countries where the inhabitants were all Christians; and he commanded the Christians should be every where used with as much respect and esteem, as those The of the Mahometan religion.

* History of the Turks. Page 216, & sequentibus.

⁺ History of Tamerlane, by Sanctyon, chap. 2, 7. cited by Fenkyns, in his Reasonableness of the Christian Religion, Volume I. Pages 110, 111.

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The people of Samogitia remained pagans till the beginning of the fifteenth Century; their superstition was much of the same kind with that of Lithuania above described. Those who are curious, may see more of it in Hottinger * and Gothofredus +. Their country is bounded on the North by Courland; on the East by Lithuania; on the South by Ducal Prussia; and on the West by the Baltick Sea; its length from East to West, is thirty-five German miles, but its breadth is not answerable. Uladislaus king of Poland demolished their idols, and taught them the Lord's Prayer and the Creed, because none of his priests understood then their language | . He founded fome churches among them, and fent priefts afterward to instruct them. Their first bishop was called Matthias; he was born at Vilna, and understood exactly the Lithuanian and Samogitian They are fomething barbarous to this very day, being inclined to divinations, charms, and forceries, and frequently abused by diabolical illusions ±.

The improvement of arts and sciences, the reviving of learning, buried under popish darkness and superstition, in former ages, and the discoveries made by the art of navigation, in the formerly unknown parts of the world, in this Century were happy means for advancing the kingdom of Christ over the world; of which we shall have occasion to discourse more fully afterward. Mean time we may observe, that the Canary islands were discovered by the Baron de Bevencour a Frenchman, and by the Sieur de la Salle, who arrived there, July 1402, who made himself master of them, and came in person to do homage for them to the king of Spain, because he was the nearest Christian Prince. When the French came thither, the inhabitants had no other weapons but arrows and darts, and were all idolaters, worshipping the fun and stars; Polygamy was allowed and used thro' all the country: But that which is

* Hift. Eccl. Vol.4. Sec. 15. page 857. & feq.

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⁺ Arehontologia Cosmica, lib. 1. page 402.

| Hottinger, ubi supra, pag. 858.

[#] Heylin's Cosmography, Book 2. Pag. 169. Edition 1652.

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a greater proof of their barbarity, is a strange custom they observed; when any lord took possession of his little dominions, several persons offered to die voluntarily in honour of the folemnity, and with a brutal courage cast themselves headlong from the top of a very high mountain. The fame ceremony was observed upon certain festivals, kept in honour of a deity they adored, in a temple feated on a brink of a mountain; they threw themselves down into a vast depth, out of a religious principle, dancing and finging; their priefts affuring them, they should enjoy all forts of pleasure, after fuch a noble death. They eat the flesh of beasts raw and bleeding, having not yet learned the use of fire. The inhabitants of the feveral islands looked upon one another as enemies, much after the fame manner as is practifed between the Iroquois and Hurons in Canada, who eat one another; so the people of these isles killed and butchered one another, without mercy or compassion; they used to do the same to strangers, when in their power. I need not enlarge upon the manners, rarities and produce of those islands; they are known to every fea-faring man, and may be feen by any who reads geography. Only I thought fit to give a hint of these barbarous customs, and facrifices to devils, that we may fee the lamentable condition of heathers, and the great mercy of being delivered from fuch abominable rites, by embracing our holy Religion. The Spaniards brought Christianity into those islands, according to the doctrine and superstition of the church of Rome; the inhabitants are now Roman Catholicks, and have a bishop in the Canaries.

Madera is an island in the Atlantick sea, to the west of Barbary, 'tis called by some, The Queen of Islands, because of its beauty and sertility; it was discovered in the year 1420, by John Gonsalve and Christian Vasee, in the name of the king of Portugal, who is possessed it. The inhabitants were heathens, when first discovered. There is now a popular archbishop settled at

Funchal, with a revenue of 8000 ducats.

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Chap. 7. Present State of Heathens in Asia.

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But of the state of heathenish idolatry, and of the propagation of the Christian Religion, in these last ages, since navigation, arts and sciences, began to be improved, we shall have occasion to discourse more fully afterward, in the following parts of this essay; and therefore I now put an end to this chapter.

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Of the present State of Heathens in Asia, Africa, and America.

DEFORE I enter upon the propagation of Chri-I stianity, in these remote parts of the world, in the last ages, it will be proper to consider their prelent circumstances, that we may have the clearer view of the condition they are in, and of the care which ought to be taken for their conversion. Neither shall I forget to give some account of remote Christian churches in thole parts of the world, that we may the better lympathize with them, as members of the fame body of Christ with our felves; and because this and the following chapter have a mutual connection, what is more largely treated in the one, shall be omitted in the other. Indeed, the vast extent of Pagan Idolatry, and the deplorable condition of fo great a part of the habitable earth, that was not known to us in Europe well, till within these two hundred years, or thereabouts, and who, notwithstanding some endeavours that have been used for their conversion, are yet for most part without the pale of Christ's church, under the servitude of satan, aliens to the commonwealth of Ifrael, strangers to the covenant of promise, having no hope, and without God in the world; may move the pity and compassion of any tender-hearted Christian.

I begin with Asia, and first of the Bramans, because they areaset of people scattered up and down many parts of the East-Indies. Mr. Wetton, in his Reslections on

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ancient and modern learning, gives this account of them *: " We have very little of any notice of these " Indian Philosophers before Alexander the Great, who extended his conquests as far as the river Indus. His " historians acquaint us with a fet of philosophers in that country, who practifed great aufterities them-" felves, and taught others that wisdom of living on a " little, of abstaining from almost all natural plea-" fures, and promoting the prosperity and welfare of "the rest of mankind." Strabo gives a description of them out of Megasthenes, Onesicritus and Aristobulus. That the body of it may be true, is probable, from what we are told of their successors the Bramines, by Bernier and Abraham Roger. This last author lived among the Bramans 15 years, and had his information from Padmanaba a Braman; he preached both in the Dutch and Portuguese languages in Coremandel, Java, and New Holland; and returning to Holland in Europe, in the year 1647, wrote his book †, where he collected the opinions of the Bramans with all the exactness he could. He says, " The superstitious care these " people take to follow the customs, and propagate the opinions of their ancestors, be they ever so ab-" furd and fenfelefs, plainly shows, they would have . " preserved learning with equal care, had there been " any of it to preferve. They keep a collection of the " wife fayings of one Bartbroboweri, which Mr. Roger has given us a tafte of; but fuch miferable stuff ge-" nerally, that one cannot read them, without smiling " at the simplicity of those who can admire them. They would not show him their book of the law, but by the account his Braman doctor gave of it, "tho' they pretend 'tis fent from God, yet 'tis only an abfurd history of the fabulous succession of their " deities, and as vile a collection of the superstitious " ceremonies by which they are to be worshipped. "Their doctrine of the transmigration of souls which " Pythagoras

^{*} Pag. 148, and following. + Hornbeeck de Convertione Indorum, Lib. 1. cap. 5. pag. 32, & feq.

Chap. 7. Present State of Heathens in Asia. 135

" Pythagoras first taught in the west, is a precarious " idle notion, which these blinded Indians so foolishly " believe, that they are afraid to kill a flea or a loufe, " for fear of diffurbing the foul of one of their ancef-" tors; tho' at the fame time, they scruple not to force " multitudes of poor filly women, and fometimes too, " full fore against their wills, to burn themselves alive " with their deceased husbands bodies, under pretence " of being ferviceableto them in another world; tho "they are far from having any affurance their huf-" bands will there stand in need of them. Can we be-" lieve there is a generous spirit residing in a people, " who have now for two or three thousand years " placed the greatest degree of fanctity and prudence " in half flarving themfelves, and depriving themfelves " of the lawful conveniencies of life? Yet these were " the chief employments of the ancient Brachmans, as

" they are still of the modern Bramines."

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Monsieur Bernier fays*, "That the Bramines believe, "that the earth is flat and triangular, with feveral " stories all different in beauty, perfection, and inha-" bitants, each of which, they fay, is encompassed " by a fea; that one of these seas is milk, another of " fugar, a third of butter, the fourth of wine, &c. and " fo on to feven, beginning at Sommeire, an imaginary " mountain they place in the midst of the earth. "That the first story, which is at the foot of Som-" meire, hath Deutas, i. e. Semi-gods of the Bramines, " which are very perfect; the fecond contains likewife " Deutas, but less perfect, and so of the rest, still les-" fening the perfection to the feventh, which they fay " is ours, that is, of man, less perfect than any of the " Deutas. And lastly, that the whole mass is sustained " on the heads of divers elephants, which, when they " ftir, cause an earthquake." Upon this, and the like doctrine of theirs, confonant to those noble discoveries in Monsieur Roger's histories of the lives and manners of the Bramines, Monsieur Bernier makes

Voyages, Tom. 3. rag. 168. English Edition.

Present State of Heathens in Asia.

this remark *; " All these strange impertinencies, " which I have had the patience to relate, have often " made me think, that if these be the famous sciences Cha

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" of the ancient Brachmans of the Indies, very many

" have been deceived in the great opinion they con-

" ceived of them: for my part, I can hardly believe " it; but that I find the Religion of the Indians to be

" from immemorial times, that 'tis writ in the Hanscrit

" language, which cannot but be very ancient, fince " its beginning is unknown, and it is a dead language,

" understood but by the learned. All their books be-"ing writ in that tongue, is a mark of very great

" antiquity." The life of Francis Xavier, writ in French by Father Bobours, and done into English by Mr. Dryden, gives the following account of these Bramans or Indian priefts +. " The Bramans are very confiderable a-" mong the Indians, both for their birth and their 66 employment. According to the ancient fables of " the Indies, their original is from heaven; and it " is the common opinion, That the blood of the God " is running in their veins: but to understand how "they were born, and from what God descended, 'tis " necessary to know the story of their Gods, which in fhort is this. The first, and lord of all others, is " Para-Brama, which is to fay, a most perfect substance, " who has his Being from himfelf, and who gives his "Being to the rest. God being a spirit free from matter, and desirous to appear once under a sensible si figure, became man, by the only defire he had to " show himself, he conceived a son, which came out " of his mouth, and was called Mayo; he had two others after him, one of them whose name was "Visnu, was born out of his breast, the other called " Brama, out of his belly. Before he returned to his so invisibility, he affigned habitations and employments 56 to his three children. He placed the eldest in the

^{*} Voyages, ubi supra, pag. 169. + Xavier's Life, Book II. See Appendix to Religion and Learning of the Malabarians, by Danish Missionaries, pag. 64. & seq.

Chap. 7. Present State of Heathens in Asia. first heaven, and gave him an absolute command " over the elements and mixed bodies; he lodged " Visnu below his eldest brother, and established him " judge of men, the father of the poor, and the pro-" tector of the unfortunate. Brama had for his in-" heritance the third heaven, with the superintendance " of facrifices and other ceremonies of Religion. These " are the three deities which the Indians represent by " an idol with three heads growing out of one body, " with this mysterious signification, That they all pro-" ceed from the same principle. By which it may be " inferred, (fays my author) That in former times " they have heard of Christianity, and that their Re-" ligion is an imperfect imitation, or rather a corrup-"tion of ours. They fay, That Visnu has descended " a thousand times on earth, and every time has changed " his shape; sometimes appearing in the figure of a " beaft, sometimes of a man, which is the original " of their Pagods, concerning which they relate fo " many fables, They add, that Brama having a de-" fire for children, made himself visible, and begat the " Brachmans, whose race has infinitely multiplied. "The people believe them Demi-gods, as poor and as " miserable as they are. They likewise imagine them " to be faints, because they lead a hard and solitary " life, having very oft no other lodging than the hol-" low of a tree or cave, fometimes living exposed to " the air on a bare mountain, or in a wilderness, suf-" fering all the hardships of the weather, keeping a " profound filence, fasting a long time together, and " making profession of eating nothing that had life " in it. But after all, there is not perhaps a more " wicked nation under the canopy of heaven; the fruit " of these austerities which they practise in the defart, " is to abandon themselves in publick to the most " brutal pleasures of the slesh, without either shame " or remorfe of conscience; for they believe, that all " things, how abominable foever, are lawful to be " done, provided they are suggested to them by the " light within. And the people are so infatuated with

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them, as to believe, that they shall become holy by rartaking in their crimes, or by suffering any out. rage from them. On the other side, they are the greatest impostors in the world; their talent consists in inventing new sables every day, and making them pass among the vulgar for wonderful mysteries: one of their cheats is, to persuade the simple, that the Pagods eat like men; and to the end they may be presented with good chear, they make their Gods of a gigantick sigure, and are sure to endow them with a prodigious paunch. If these offerings, with which they maintain their samilies, come to fail, they denounce to the people, That the offended Pagods threaten the country with some prodigious judgment, or that their Gods in displeasure will forsake them, because they are suffered to die of bunger.

them, because they are suffered to die of bunger. "The doctrine of these Bramans is nothing better than their life; one of their gross errors is, to be-" lieve, that cows have in them fomething facred and "divine; happy is the man that can be fprinkled with "the ashes of a cow, burnt by the hand of a Brachman; but thrice happy he, who dying, lays hold of a cow's tail, and expires with it betwirt his hands; " for thus affilted, the foul departs out of the body " purified, and fometimes returns into the body of a " cow: that fuch a favour is not vouchfafed but on " heroick fouls, who contemn life, and die gene-" roufly, either by casting themselves from a precipice, " or leaping into a kindled pile, or throwing themse felves under the holy chariot-wheels, to be crushed " to death by the Pagods, while they are carried in " triumph about the town. We are not to wonder " after this, that the Brachmans cannot endure the " Christian Law, and that they make use of all their " credit and cunning to deftroy it in the Indies. Being " favoured by princes many in number, and ftrongly " united among themselves, they succeed in all they " undertake; and being zealous for their ancient fu-" perstitions, and most obstinate in their opinions, 'tis " not eafy to convert them.

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In Mr. Harris's compleat Colle Etion of Voyages and Travels *, I find the following story, which may give a further view of these Bramines. About the year 1613 the king of Narsinga died; the English East-India company having confiderable debts and effects among his people, were concerned to secure themselves: in order to this, when other means failed, they refolved to fecure the governour, or his fon; and they actually seized his son, conveyed him into their boat, and then aboard their ship with him. Tho' they were hotly pursued by fire-arms, they made good their retreat: "The governour was under a necessity of doing us " justice, (fays my author) and that in a little time " too, if he loved his fon's life, not that we intended " to offer him any violence, but his own superstition " would have given him death without remedy; for it " feems he was a Braman, and all of that character are " forbidden by the laws of their fect to eat or drink " any thing but what they provide themselves; all " animal food is abomination to them, and they have " fo many peculiarities of diet, (and being obliged to " be their own cooks too) that the poor Braman was " like to starve on shipboard, keeping a longer and se-" verer fast than perhaps ever his Religion put him " upon. He would not touch a bit of any thing we " had, and tho' nature struggled hard, and made heavy " complaints for relief, yet conscience restrained and " curbed her, filenced all that noise, and got the vic-" tory; fo that the young man must certainly die in a " very little space, unless he would either over-rule his " conscience, or persuarde his father to shew a little in " paying a just debt. This being the case, the old " governour disputed the business no longer; the sense " of his fon's danger foftned and overcame him, and " to avoid being his murderer, he discharged the in-" cumbent debt, and ballanced all accompts with us. " So we fent back the mortified prisoner again, having " fasted now four or five days, enough to make a man " hate that superstition, and to forswear being a Bra-

ce man

^{*} Harris's Collection in Folio, Vol. 1. pag. 113.

man any longer. But how ridiculous foever the doctrine of the Bramines be in the theory, 'twas very

" useful and profitable to us in the practice of it; for

"if we had not got a Braman into our hands, a fellow that must be presently redeemed, or else would have

" ftarved himself, we do not know when we should

"have got our money." I work which is the state of

F. Bouchet a missionary, has some remarks upon these Bramans; his observations tend to prove *, That the Indians have taken their Religion from the books of Moses and the prophets; that all the fables their books are filled with, do not fo much difguise the truth. but it may still be known; and that beside the Religion of the Hebrew nation, which they learned, at least in part, by their commerce with the Jews and Egyptians, there appear among them plain footsteps of the Christian Religion, preached to them by St. Thomas the Apoftle, Pantænus, and other great men, ever fince the first ages of the church. I only report the opinion of this Jesuit, but will not subscribe to it as solid truth; yea, I conceive, the extravagant wild notions of the Bramans and Indians cannot be reconciled with the Holy Scriptures, and are only fables invented by the enemy of mankind, to lull his deluded fubjects afleep in heathenish idolatry and impiety.

The Indians have an incredible bigotry, and mad zeal for their Gasts. Tavernier tells us †, 'tis commonly believed there are 72 Casts, some say 84, yet there are but sour principal ones, from whom the rest take their original. The first is that of the Bramines, the successor of the ancient Brachmans or Indian philosophers, of whom we have already discoursed. They study astrology, and to increase and preserve this knowledge, they have a kind of university at Bonarez, where their doctors expound their law, and they perform all their exercises in astrology. But because they are too numerous to study all there, many of them are

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^{*} Jesuits Travels in English, printed 1714, pag. 2. & seq. † Travels into India, in Harris's complete Collection of Travels, Vol. 2. pag. 376.

Chap. 7. Present State of Heathens in Asia. 141 very ignorant, and the most refined wits among them are the greatest forcerers. The second Cast is the Raspouts or Catrys, who are warriors and warlike people; these are the only idolatrous Indians that have any courage to fignalize themselves in war. All the Rajas are of this Cast. They are still petty kings, but their own differences made them tributary to the Mogul; and because most of them are continually in his service, they are fufficiently recompensed by great falaries; they are horsemen, only the Catrys are degenerated into merchants. The third Cast are the Banians or Ouens. An author, called Henry Lord, some time chaplain to the English East-India company at Surat, in the year 1630, printed a discovery of the sect of the Banians; I have read his book, it contains many fabulous stories concerning their deities, history, law, liturgy, customs and ceremonies, which he fays, is taken from a book, called by the Banians, Shafter: but I shall not trouble my reader with any extract from this author; because we may find in this chapter, as much as may fuffice from later writers, who have made more accurate enquiries in these affairs. To return to Mr. Tavernier, he fays, the Banians wholly addict themselves to trade, and are some of them Sheraffs, or bankers, and others brokers, who are employed between merchant and merchant for buying and felling; they are so subtle and nimble in trade, that a Yew may be apprentice to them. They accustom their children betimes to see idleness, and so early teach them arithmetick, that they'll cast up the most difficult accompt without pen or counters. If any man fly at them in the heat of his passion, they'll hear him patiently without making any reply, and parting coldly with him, not fee him again for three or four days, till they think his passion is over. They never eat any thing that has life, and will rather die themselves than kill the least animal or vermin that They never fight, nor go to war; nay, they will not fo much as eat or drink in the house of a Raspout, because they kill the victuals they eat, all but cows, which they never touch.

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142 Present State of Heathens in Malabar.

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The fourth Cast are the Charados or Soudras, who go to war as well as the Raspouts, but with this difference. that the Rasponts serve on horseback, and the Charados on foot. Both of them account it an honour to die in battle, and most infamous to retreat in fight; infomuch, that a wife, tho' she love her husband ever so well, will not receive him into her house who has this mark of cowardice upon him, till he has regained his reputation. The rest of the natives who are not reckoned into these Casts, are called Pauzecour, and are such as employ themselves in handicraft trades. These, in imitation of the former, have ranged themselves into se. veral bodies like Casts or Tribes, and bring up their children, and marry them only to their own tribes. We shall hear afterward, that this bigotry for their Casts is a prejudice to hinder the conversion of particular persons to Christianity in the East-Indies, for fear they be cast off, or excommunicated by their own tribe. So much concerning the state of heathens in general in the East-Indies.

I now proceed to consider the state of Heathens in several particular countries and kingdoms, both in the Continent and in the Islands; and shall begin with Malabar, which is a large populous country, upon the Western coast of the peninsula of India on this side of the Ganges, near Cape Comorin. The Danish missionaries in 1706, and some following years, did endeavour to promote Christianity there, of whose endeavours and success we shall give some account in the following chapter. Mean time, we may observe in the narrative of the progress made by these missionaries *, a large account of the present state of the heathens in that country. The sum whereof is, The Malabarians have a very regular language, which may be reduced to a certain

^{*} Narrative of Danish Missionaries, Part 2. pag. 7. & seq. See also an Account of the Religion, Manners, and Learning of the People of Malabar, in several Letters written by learned Men of that Country to the Danish Missionaries, by Mr. Philips; printed at London 1717. in 8vo. in 180 Pages.

Chap.7. Present State of Heathens in Malabar. 143 tain standard, or rules of grammar. As our learned men in Europe bave their course of philosophical sciences, so bave the Malabarians, and treat them in a regular and methodical manner, as well as our scholars in Europe. They have a written law, from whence, as from a fountain, they fetch all their theological deductions and determinations. Concerning God, they'll tell you, they worship one divine Being, which they set up for the original and produstive cause of all things, calling it accordingly, Barbara Wastu, or the supremest Being of all. This God, they lay, doth not concern himself immediately about things of little moment, falling out either in this or the other worlds; but has created some other great Gods as his vicegerents, by whom all the worlds and creatures therein are influenced. These Gods, say they, have again their subordinate Gods, of whom every one is said to have his particular station and government assigned bim. By this middle fort men are created, according to the order of the supremest Being of all; and therefore, they think it reasonable, they should have some kind of worship allotted to them, not exceeding the very lowest or third order of Gods, since men have received tokens of kindness from them too. They add, That all these inserior sorts of worship are resolved at last into the sublimest worship due to the supremest Being of all.

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They pretend likewise, that wise and understanding men among them, perform their worship without images, these being designed, say they, for children only, and the duller fort of people, who know not what fort of ideas or representations to frame of these heavenly Beings. They tell you, that after the supremest Being, there are 3,500,000 all depending on the first or primary substance. They say, there are 48000 Rischi or great prophets, and an infinite number of angels and inferior officers. The genealogy or gradual production of their Gods is remarkable, and is ranked by them in this series: (1.) The Being of Beings, the supremest God, created Eternity. (2.) Eternity brought forth Tschinen. (3.) By Tschinen the Goddess Tschaddy was created. (4.) The Goddess Tschaddy produced Putady,

or

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or the elementary fensitive world. (5.) By Putady the Sound or Ringing was formed. (6.) The Sound's offspring was Nature. (7.) Nature afterward begat the great God Tschatatschinen. And (8.) This again brought forth another great God, called Megeschurn. (9.) From Megeschurn sprung up Rudiren or Ispuren. (10.) From Rudiren the great God Wischtrum. (11.) This again created Brama. Which (12.) proved the productive principle of the Soul. (13.) The Soul at last created the Heaven, or that vast expansion between heaven and earth, which maketh up the fifth element, according to the Malabarick philosophy, or rather the receptacle of the other sour elements. (14.) This Heaven begat or created the Air. (15.) The Air begat the Fire. (16.) The Fire begat the Water. And (17.)

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The Water begat the Earth.

As for the rest of their Gods and holy Prophets, they furnish out a large, long-linked roll or genealogy, too prolix to be here inferted. Concerning the nature of their Gods, they freely confess, they are subject to various changes and mutations, as well as the creatures themselves, and that each of them has a fixed term both of life and government. After the expiration of all these set times, every thing, say they, shall return to the Being of all Beings, and then there shall follow a new creation. There is great difference among them as to the worship of their Gods, one part preferring this, and another more fond of that: they fay, that in old times their Gods frequently appeared upon earth, and from these apparitions they coin a world of ridiculous tales and stories. They fay, there are fourteen worlds, feven fuperior, and feven inferior ones, with as many huge feas moving betwixt them. This strange notion furnishes their poets with abundance of fictions, and whenever they entertain you with an account of fome strange accidents or adventures, they only fay these happened in such a world, without thinking themfelves obliged to alledge any other proof. As for the creation of man, they fay, that 60000 men were created at first, the half of these soon turned to something

Chap.7. Present State of Heathens in Malabat. 145 thing else, and the other half remained men, both of them being afterwards multiplied to infinite numbers. As to the image of God, after which man was created, and the lamentable loss thereof by the fall, they know nothing of it. Their notion about fin is very lame and imperfect; they fay, it comes from the constitution of the body, and from excessive eating and drinking. But the Bramans fay, they are no finners at all, but the offspring of the great God Brama, and think themfelves pure and finless all over. Concerning the foul of man, they have a multitude of wild foolish notions: fome fay, God is the foul, others affirm it to be a part of God, others give out, that God, at the creation of the world, created all those souls that were designed to go into the bodies of men; others fay, the foul is begotten by the parents, others believe it to be the product of the five elements; the most part think every one hath two fouls, a good one and a bad one. They are generally for a transmigration of the foul, out of one body into another, for her full and perfect purification. But as for fuch as have all along lived a good and holy life, they tell you, that they are immediately translated into a state of complete bliss and happiness. Of those that have been defiled by a great many fins in the world, they hold they must wander from one body to another, and by this means be born over and over again, till they gain a perfect purification at last, and be admitted to the enjoyment of the company of the Gods. From this principle they further infer, that those who have indulged themselves in all manner of lewdness and vanity, are oft forced into the wild and venomous beafts, or else born again into the world, in a very poor and mean condition; whereas, those who have done a great deal of good, but without being arrived yet at the pitch of perfection, are born again, some like kings, fome like great scholars, and some like other topping and first-rate men in the world.

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In this vast multitude of people, hurried about with so many uncouth notions, I must needs say, adds my Vol. II.

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author *, I never met with any one Atheist; I mean fuch as had the boldness to contradict the existence of a fovereign Being, and the truth of a future life. On the other hand, I have feen many, that will undergo a great deal of pain and labour, to fit themselves for a better state in the next world; many will quit all they have, wife, children and estate, and retire into some folitude, to do penitence for their former life. will employ themselves about acts and offices of humanity, erecting up and down abundance of charity houses, where both indigent travellers, and other poor people, may find rest and refreshment. There are also some spacious buildings, like cloysters or colleges, to be seen in some places, where often a thousand people are entertained at once. In the year 1708, a certain Queen, residing not far from Tranquebar, I have been told for certain, continues the fame author, entertained to the number of ten thousand Bramans at free cost—. All this they do, in order to prepare themselves for another world, and please the Gods, of whom their books inform, that they often appear in the shape of beggars, and unexpectedly steal in upon people, to fee whether they be diligent in relieving the wants of the poor and needy. Some fuch charitable and publick spirited men, have by their Gods been taken up triumphantly in foul and body, into the regions of the bleffed, as the Malabar historians tell us; and this is another motive that encourages them to fuch generous acts of love and charity.

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Concerning the state of happiness after this life, our Malabarians inform us of four degrees or mansions prepared for the better sort of people: the first degree is termed by them Tschalogum, signifying paradise; the second Tschalimbum, importing a very near access to the great God; the third is called Tscharubum, such as arrive at this degree, are made the very image of God; the fourth is called Tschamschium, and unites the inhabitants intirely to the supreme Being. Many, to render themselves worthy of so glorious a state, live a

^{*} Narrative of Danish Missionaries, Part 2.

Chap. 7. Present State of Heathers in Malabar. 147 very precise and virtuous life; some have so far thrown off all idolatrous worship, that they don't so much as come near a Pagod; all their endeavours are bent upon the practice of virtue. This fort of men do not own any religious party at all, thinking themselves raised above the common set of religions used among the heathers. They are ready at any time to entertain you with discourses concerning virtue and holiness of life; but as soon as you touch upon the doctrine of Christ, and the difference betwixt their Religion and that of the Christians, they do not like it so well, as if you barely talk to them of virtue, and purity of manners.

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I forgot to tell you, that the abovefaid notion of transmigration, and various revolutions of souls, makes one of the strongest prejudices against the Christian Religion, among the Malabar Heathens, and is one of the greatest stratagems of the devil, whereby he makes many of them think flightly of the most horrid fins and pollutions. For while they don't believe any other punishment to be inflicted upon the wicked, but these revolutions of the foul, and being born again and again into the world, they grow at last quite familiar with this fancy of the rambles of the foul. Some of them have been convinced of the fottishness of this notion, and intirely put to a Nonplus; but it being one of the oldest articles of their faith, and handed down to them by a long and uninterrupted tradition, 'tis hard to remove a prejudice so deeply rooted, and so commonly received among them.

In the entry to this chapter, I promised not to forget some remote Christian Churches scattered among the heathen, that we may the better sympathize with them as members of the same body of Christ: therefore, I shall now explain the state of the church of Malabar; which I take from Michael Geddes, D. D. who, after nine years residence at Lisbon, where he had occasion to acquaint himself with books writ in Portuguese, concerning this country, has given us a

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history

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history of the church of Malabar *, from the year 1501, to 1599, where we are informed, the South-end of Malabar is inhabited by those who call themselves Christians of St. Thomas, because they were converted by the Apostle of that name; they have been for 1300 years, under the patriarch of Babylon, who fends them a Meterane or Archbishop. The first news of them was brought to Europe by Pedralvares Cabral, who in the year 1501, meeting with feveral of these Christians at Cranganor, perfuaded two of them to come with him to Portugal; the eldest died at Lisbon, the younger named Joseph, went to Venice, where, on his information, a tract was published in Latin, of the state of the church of Malabar, printed at the end of Fasciculus Temporum. In the following year, these Christians hearing of Don Vasco di Gama, at Cochim in the East-Indies, put themselves under the protection of the king of Portugal his mafter. The admiral gave them many good words, and promised them his master's protection, against infidel princes. But after this compliment, we hear no more of them, till the year 1545. The Portuguese were too busy in making new conquests, and the Friars fent to the Indies, too much employed in making commodious feats for their convents, to attend any foreign business. But after all, this negligence is not fo scandalous, as the violence afterwards used in reducing them.

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The Portuguese finding the Malabars were not to be persuaded by any thing the Friars could do or say to them, to forsake their present bishop, and submit themselves to the pope +, resolve to try violence, to which popery owes its propagation. Having in a manner got the whole country into their power, they bring Mar Joseph, the only bishop of the Christians of St. Thomas, prisoner from Cochim to Goa, and thence transsmit him in a ship to Portugal, where he promised

^{*} Geddes's History of the Church of Malabar, printed at London, 1694. 8vo.

⁺ Geddes's History of the Church of Malabar, printed at London, 1694. 8vo. pag. 10.

Chap. 7. Present State of Heathens in Malabar. 149 the pope's legate, to do all that was in his power, to reduce his diocess to the obedience of the church of This hath been the ordinary method in the popish church, to oblige some mock-prelates, or hungry monks, to make a submission to the pope, in the name of the churches they pretend to represent; of which our author gives many examples *. The Christians in Malabar fearing they should never fee their bishop Mar Toleph again, fent to the patriarch of Babylon for another in his room, who fent them one Mar Abraham, who had not been long there, before he had news of Mar Toleph's being returned to Goa. By this the Portuguese gave birth to a Schifm, some adhering to Mar Abraham, and others to Mar Joseph, as their prelate. But the latter got himself eased of his competitor, he being fent prisoner to Rome, as an enemy to the Latin Church. These repeated tyrannies of the Portuguese in the Indies, dragging ancient bishops out of their own country and diocess, and tumbling them about the world; I cannot, fays my author +, but reckon among the violent acts of injustice, for which Manuel di Faria, near the end of his Afia Portuguesa, says, God has punished them so visibly. The observation, says he, is so very true, as to give it in the author's words. "Tis remarkable. " that among all persons who have gone to the Indies, " whether as governours, captains or merchants, of " which fort most of them were, there is not one that " has raifed a family of any confideration, out of the " goods they have got in these parts, either here, or " in Portugal; tho' there have been several of them "who have got one, two, three, or four millions. " Now, that nothing that is confiderable, of all these " vast treasures, should any where appear, must be for "one or both of these reasons: First, That whereas "God permitted the discoveries in this voyage, only " for the propagation of his name, and true worship,

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^{*} Geddes's History of the Church of Malabar, printed at London, 1694. 8vo. pag. 12—18. See the same History in a French Treatise, entitled, Recherches Historiques sur l'Etat Ancien & Moderne de la Religion Chrêtienne dans les Indes.

[†] Geddes's History of the Church of Malabar, pag. 22.

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not by barbarous methods, as those beforementioned: these travellers have, for most part, pursued the ends of a facrilegious covetousness, committing many acts of injustice to fill their coffers, instead of having " any regard to Religion: the other is, because most 56 of these riches were gained by unjust means of ty-" rannies, robberies, and all forts of infolence, of " which many inftances in the faid hiftory." -- Neither were the violences they made use of to convert infidels, any thing inferior to those they exercised on the poor Chaldean Christians, by which they provoked the heathenish princes to that degree, that they had like to have lost all they had in the Indies by it. For the Hidalcan who befieged Goa in the year 1570, both in his letters to Don Lewis d'Ataide, and in the speech he made to his captains, when he first communicated to them the design of driving the Portuguese out of the Indies, gave these violences as the chief cause of the war. About this time the Dominican Friars, under pretence of building a convent, erected a fortress at Solor, into which, as foon as it was finished, the viceroy put a strong garrison: there were perpetual bickerings between this garrison and the natives, in most of which, fome of the Friars, as they were converting these infidels, with fwords in their hands, lost their lives. Fernando Vinagre a fecular priest commanded the squadron fent to affift the king of Tidore, where he appeared one day in armour, and another in a furplice, and baptized feveral persons in his armour, with his surplice over it.

In the rest of Dr. Geddes's book, we may find the Portuguese took no pains to persuade the heathens to embrace Christianity, but were very diligent to oblige the Christians of St. Thomas to profess subjection to the pope, and to receive popish doctrines. Particularly, Dom. Frey Aleixo de Menezes archbishop of Goa, and primate of the Indies, in his visitation used many violent methods to establish the popish Religion in the East; which makes it nothing strange, that these reunions, with such as the church of Rome call schismaticks in the East, have been so short-lived. Those people do

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Chap. 7. Present State of Heathens in Malabar. 151 hate many of the doctrines and idolatrous practices of the church of Rome, as Francisco Roz a Jesuit, after he had been with the archbishop last named, at Carturte in the Indies, told him *, " That he could not believe he " wasat Carturte, where, not many months ago, having " a mind to fay mass, he was forced to have the church " doors opened to him by the Queen's Regedor; and " when he elevated the facrament, the people all shut " their eyes, that they might not fee it, and beat one of " his scholars, for having named the pope in his prayers; " and when he shewed them an image of our Lady, " they cried out, away with that filthings! we are " Christians, and for that reason do not adore Idols or " Pagods." Yet the Portuguese archbishop forced this people to comply with his popish innovations for a time.

The church of Malabar does differ in many of its doctrines from the church of Rome, even in matters of great moment: as, First, She condemns the pope's 2dly, She affirms the church of Rome is supremacy. fallen from the true faith. 3dly, She denies Transubstantiation, or, that Christ's body and blood are in the substance of the elements in the eucharist. 4thly, She condemns images, and the adoration of them, as ido-5thly, She makes no use of oils in the administration of baptism. 6thly, She knows nothing of godtathers or godmothers, nor of confirmation of children; the knows no spiritual affinity. 7thly, She denies purgatory. 8thly, She denies the necessity of auricular confession. 9thly, She knows no extreme unction. 10thly, She allows her priests to marry as often as they have a mind, and confers orders upon those who have been married, and upon widowers without a scruple. 11thly, She denies matrimony to be a facrament. 12thly, She holds but two orders, Priestbood and Diaconate. 13tbly, She celebrates the Sacrament of the Supper in leavened bread, 14thly, She confecrates with prayer. All this appears from the faid book of Dr. Geddes's, and from the acts and decrees of the fynod of Diamper, which are printed with it, and which make

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^{*} Geddes, as above, pag. 84.

make up the greater part thereof. In that Synod, Dom. Frey Aleixo de Menezes, archbishop of Goa, did endeavour to thrust upon the church of Malabar, the whole mass of popery, which they were before unacquainted with: this meeting was celebrated in June 1599. 'Tis not incredible, that the archbishop should be able to prevail with them to do this, since he had engaged all the neighbouring princes, and their Regedors, to assist him, and had secured the major part of the priests present, in all an hundred and sifty-three, whereof two thirds were ordained by himself, and made to abjure their old religion, and subscribe the Creed of Pope Pius IV.

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Before I leave the church of Malabar, I shall further observe, that in the year 1714, there was printed at Leyden, an epiftle in Syriac, from Maha Thome, that is, the Great Thomas, bishop of the ancient Syrian Christians in Malabar in the Indies, to Ignatius patriarch of Antioch, and the bishops of Syria; where, after ample falutations, the faid Maha Thome defires to be fent to them, one metropolitan, one patriarch, and two presbyters, because a Nestorian monk, sent by the bishop of Babylon, had endeavoured to pollute them with his errors. This letter was, by one Vanderdain, master of a Dutch ship, communicated to the learned Charles Schaaf, professor of the Oriental Languages at Leyden, who has published it with a Latin version; together with a letter from the faid profesior, to Maha Thome, in Syriac, and a Latin version of the same; where he fignifies, that he has fent by the fame ship, his Syriac New Testament, as a present to him; and defires the favour of their Syriac Liturgies, and other books concerning their doctrine and religion. If this correspondence be improved, we may have further discoveries concerning these Christians in Malabar; mean time it appears, that however the church of Rome has fometimes cudgelled them into a fubmission, they are no hearty profelytes to popery.

To return to the state of paganism in Asia; the kingdoms of Bisnagar and Narsinga lie in the peninsula of m.

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India, on this side the Ganges, near Malabar; the inhabitants have a cruel fort of heathenish idolatry: An idol, which pilgrims vifit with their hands bound, with ropes about their necks, or knives sticking in their flesh, accounting themselves holy, if their wounds fester; they cast gold and jewels into a lake for its use; they carry it yearly in procession, and strive to be crushed to death under the chariot that bears it *. If any happen to be killed thus, they burn his body, and keep his ashes as holy reliques; some cut off pieces of their flesh, and throw them to the idol: Women prostitute themselves for money to maintain it. When men make vows to it, they perform them, by fuffering their priefts, with sharp hooks fastned to the cross-yard of a mast, to pull them up till the blood runs down, and then they are taken down, and lifted up again by the middle, giving thanks to the idol for accepting of their facrifice: The priefts licence women to marry, by fealing them with a hot iron upon the shoulders. have festivals, some to the sun, some to their kine, and other idols: when the fun or moon is eclips'd, they fay they are bit by a celestial fign call'd the Dragon +.

I now proceed Northward, to the empire of the Great Mogol, call'd also Indostan; it contains a great part of the continent of the Indies, being about fix hundred and fifty leagues long, from East to West, and above four hundred and fifty, from North to South. The princes fay they are descended from Timur Lenc, commonly called Tamerlane, who came out of Tartary, and fettled this empire about the year 1401. 'Tis not my business to enquire into the riches, policy, or greatness of this monarchy, which cannot easily enlarge its limits, wanting a naval force, and being environed with ftrong neighbours, who are able to defend their own territories. As to religion, the Emperor, or Mogol, is a Mahometan, as also his court, and

ieveral

^{*} See Captain Alexander Hamilton's New Account of the East Indies, printed 1727. chap. 31. of the famous Temple of Jagarynut. + Great Historical Dictionary. Edit. Lond. 1694. Ross's Pansebeia, from Vertomannes and Fernandes.

feveral of his subjects, but the greater part of them are heathen idolaters. Beside other idols, they ascribe a kind of sanctity to the river Ganges, whose waters are very clear: therefore at certain times, sour or sive hundred Indians may be seen washing and bathing in that river, into which, at their departure, they throw gold or silver*. A larger account of the state of paganism, and their various rites in this empire, may be seen in Mr. Tavernier's travels into India †.

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The Mogol's court is very jealous of the prevailing of paganism among them, as we are informed by a passage of the News-Papers, dated at Amsterdam, December 8th, 1719. "Here are letters from Ispahan of the 30th of

- " July last, of a great revolution in the empire of the Great Mogol, occasioned by the obstinacy of the emperor, who, having married a pagan princes
- " from a neighbouring kingdom, was often entreated by
- his ministers to put her away, as the only means to appeale the murmuring of his subjects; who, ex-
- freamly abhorring the pagan religion, began to ap-
- or prehend, he would renounce that of the Makome-
- tans, to embrace that of the Pagans. But the Em-
- " peror, instead of hearkening to their counsels, suffered that princess to assume an absolute empire,
- both over his person and government. Whereupon,
- the principal lords of his court first put out his eyes,
- "then poisoned him, and afterwards set on his throne,
 a prince of twelve years of age, son to his prede-
- " ceffor. All this was performed in five hours time,
- " without any popular commotion, the fuccessor en-

" joying the quiet possession of his crown."

There is an abominable custom which obtains in many places, not only in the Mogol's country, but in many other kingdoms in the East Indies, where heathenism prevails; that is, of wives killing themselves after the death of their husbands, falling like so many facrifices to the devil ||. I shall give a late moving in-

* Historical Dictionary on the Word Mogol.

[†] See Harris's Itinerantium Bibliotheca, Vol. II. pag. 376. & feq.—
|| See Captain Hamilton's Account of the East Indies, Vol. I. pag.
277, 278.

Chap. 7. Present State of Heathens in Asia. stance of it, from a News-Paper, dated at Paris, March 24th, 1719, containing an abstract of a letter, writ by Father Martin, to F. de Villete, both jesuits, from Veragua Pati, in the mission of Madure, on the coast of Coromandel. " The prince of Marava (fays " the letter) dying in 1710, aged above eighty years, " his wives, to the number of forty-feven, were burned " with his corps, in the following manner. " digged a deep ditch without the town, and in it e-" rected a pile of wood, on the top of which the de-" ceased was laid, richly cloathed and adorned; when " they had fet this on fire, with a world of ceremonies, " performed by the Bramans, that company of unfor-" tunate women appeared, covered with jewels, and " adorned with flowers, like so many victims deligned " for the facrifice. They walked feveral times about " the pile, the heat of which was perceived at a great " distance; the chief of them held the dagger of the " deceased, and directing her speech to the prince his " fuccesfor, Here, she said, is the dagger which the " prince made use of, to triumph over his enemies, " take care never to employ it to any other use, nor to " embrue it with the blood of your subjects; govern "them as a father, as he has done, and you'll live " long and happy, as he did: fince he is no more, no-"thing can keep me longer in the world; all I have " to do, is to follow him. With these words she re-" figned the dagger into the prince's hands, who took "it, without shewing the least sign of grief or com-" passion. Alas! said she, what further comes of all " human happiness? I am sensible I am throwing my-" felf headlong into hell! These words struck all the " spectators with horror: she had a christian woman " in her service, who frequently discoursed her con-" cerning the truths of revealed religion, in order to " persuade her to embrace Christianity, but could ne-" ver prevail upon her to renounce her heathenish idols, " even tho' the truths made some impression upon her " mind. She having spoke thus, boldly turned her " face to the pile, and calling upon her Gods, flung

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" herself into the midst of the slames. The second of " these women was the fister of Raya, a prince of the 66 blood, who affifted at that deteftable ceremony; when he received from his fifter the jewels with which she was adorned, he broke out into tears, and " fell about her neck, embracing her most tenderly: " fhe feemed unmoved at it, and with a resolute countenance, looking fometimes at the pile, fometimes " at the affistants, cried with a loud voice, Chiva. " Chiva, which is the name of one of her idols, and "threw herfelf into the flames, as the first had done. The other women followed her foon after, " fome of them shewing composure enough in their " countenance, and others were cast down and bewildered: one of them frighted above the rest, run " to a Christian, who was a foldier, and hanging about " his neck, begged of him to fave her. The new " convert, who knew how foolish it was in him, to affift " at this barbarous spectacle, from which all Christians " are excluded by the feverest prohibitions, was so " stunned, that in the surprize, he pushed that unfor-" tunate creature from him, into the glowing pit: he " immediately retired, all shivering with terror, " which foon threw him into a fever, accompanied with a frenzy, of which he died the night following. Whatever intrepidity some of these women discovered at first, yet as soon as they felt the flames, they " roared in a most dreadful manner, and tumbling over each other, strove to gain the brim of the pit, " but in vain; the affiftants threw upon them large " pieces of wood. The next day, the Bramans or " Priests gathered their bones, which they threw into " the sea. The pit was levelled, a temple built on "the fpot, and the deceased prince, with his wives, " reckoned among the Deities. To conclude, it is by "these women's choice, that they give themselves up " to this cruel death, tho' 'tis almost impossible for "them to avoid it; for if they do, they must lie under " perpetual infamy, and their relations would leave " no means untried to oblige them to it. Mean time, 66 this

Chap. 7. Present State of Heathens in Asia. 157

"this barbarous law only regards princesses, and concubines of *Indian* princes, and does not extend to

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"women of less extraction, who share a better fate,

" and whom nothing but the most barbarous vanity, can persuade to submit to so abominable a custom."

This puts me in mind of another barbarous custom among the pagan *Indians*. F. Villete, in the mission of Madure, in the year 1709, observes, that if their adversary displease them, and cut off his ears, they'll cut off their own; if he put out one of his eyes, they, by Lex Talionis, will put out one of their own; if he kill his son, you must kill yours, offering a victim equal to his. This barbarous custom, our author says, he has seen often practised *. What a mercy would it be to see the Gospel of peace reform such a people from inhuman horrid cruelty, and teach them their duty to God, mercy to themselves, and love to one another!

To these instances of barbarous heathen cruelty, I shall add one or two more. In the Paris edition of the Jesuits letters, I find it oftner than once, that in the great empire of China, where there are so many large cities, and fo vast a multitude of people, that parents, for fear of being burdened with many children, expose their infants to various kinds of death, yea, even fuffer them to die in streets and kennels. Manuel di Faria, in his Portugueze Asia, tells us +, that Raju, tyrant or king in Ceylon, when he was to make war on the Portugueze, thought fit first to consult the idels about his fuccess, and having placed men behind them, who should fay as he directed, the answer was, That if he would enter Colombo, he must shed innocent blood. He pretending obedience to these commands, caused five hundred children to be fnatched from their mothers, which were all flaughtered, and the idols fprinkled with their blood. These and other examples of heathenish barbarity, to be read in the Indian history, are the fad footsteps of the cruelty of the devil to heathens, who are his slaves, who want the principles of

^{*} Jesuits Travels, English Edition, pag. 127, 128. † Manuel di Faria, Tom. 3. English Edit. pag. 47.

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Christianity, which teaches to love mercy, and walk

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If we go further Northward from the empire of the Mogol, we shall meet with Tartary: it is bounded on the West by Moscovy and the Caspian sea, on the North by the frozen ocean, on the East by the Tartarian ocean and China, and on the South by China, the empire of the Mogol and Persia. It yields to the territories of no potentate in the world for extent, except it be to those of the king of Spain, taking in his dominions in America; but then this country is united, whereas the regions that belong to Spain lie wonderfully divided. Some authors fay, Tartary contains near two millions, two hundred thousand Italian miles fquare *; but the more common calculation is, that it is in length from East to West three thousand miles, and in breadth from North to South two thousand two hundred and fifty miles. As to religion, some of the Tartars follow the doctrine of Mahomet, which was admitted among them about the year of our Lord 1246; fome are Jews, others Christians, especially Nestorians: but the greatest number are heathens, owning two Gods, one of heaven, another of earth; to the first they cast incense every day, and seek of him health and wisdom, which they stand much in need of. From the inferior Deity they ask abundance of fruit, store of cattle, and the like; they call him Natigai, and give him wife and children; they think he has a care of their cattle, corn, and other affairs. When they eat, they rub the mouth of this idol with the fattest of the slesh, as they do also to his wife and children, for they have many fuch little images in their houses, and afterwards cast the broth of the flesh to the spirits without the They keep their God of heaven in a high place, and that of earth beneath. They believe that their fouls are immortal, but pass from one body to another, and are lodged better or worse, according to the actions of their lives, wherein they follow the Pythagorean Metempsychosis. They honour also the sun

^{*} Grimeston's States and Empires, pag. 701. & seq.

Chap. 7. Present State of Heathens in Asia. 159 and moon and the four elements, and do facrifice to them. They call the pope and all Christians Dzinthis. that is, Pagans; and Chaur, that is to fay, Infidels, Dogs and Idolaters. They do not folemnize one day more than another; and do not fast on one day more than another. . They are much given to war, and use their victory with insolence, sparing no captives, neither men, women, nor children, old nor young, except some they reserve for servile work. They fuck up the blood of wounded and dying per-They are much given to uncleanness and whoredom, tho' they may have as many wives as they are able to maintain; no relation hindering them to marry, except it be mother, daughter, or lifter, yet they are exceedingly addicted to Sodomy.

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The learned Hornbeck, from the preface to Martinius's Atlas fays *, The Tartars have almost no religion, they abbor Mahometanism, and have a bad opinion of the Turks; they have received some superstitions of the Indians. There is no great difficulty in learning their language, therefore there is hope, that by the industry of Christians, the doctrine of our holy religion may be yet brought to Tartary. But others alledge, they are more inclined to Mahometanism; these Mussulmen tell them, their religion is easier, more pleasant than Christianity, and more agreeable to warlike men, fuch as the Tar-All these difficulties may be easily turmounted by the almighty power of God, when he shall please to enlighten these barbarous nations, and make the sun of righteousness to arise upon them with healing under his wings. Indeed no less power can convert one infidel or stranger, far less a whole nation. Some authors tell us +, that in Sachien, the Tartars have divers monasteries for their idols, to whom they dedicate their children, and facrifice rams, eating the flesh, but referving the bones as holy reliques. The priest is allowed the head, feet, skin, inwards, and some part of the flesh. When great men are buried, they fet a

^{*} De Conversione Indorum, lib. 1. pag. 58.

Great Historical Dictionary, Edit. 1694. on the Word Tartars.

well-covered table before the corps, thinking the foul is refreshed with the odour of the meats, and throw the pictures of his men, women and horses, &c. into the fire with the body, to ferve him in the other world; (better to throw in the pictures than the wives themfelves, as is done in the Indies.) In Tangoth they worship idols with many heads; in Camdu they prostitute their wives, fifters, and daughters to strangers, in honour of their idols. In Cathai and Mangi they offer blood to their idols for recovering the lick, as also rams with black heads, and spiced drinks, and sling the broth in the air; and the monks wear strings of

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nutshells, on which they fay their prayers.

There is a copy of William de Rubriquish's travels in Mr. Harris's complete Collection: he was a Frenchman, of the order of Minorite Friars, and travelled into Tartary and China about the year 1253; he represents the opinion of the Tartars *, That they believe there is but one God eternal in beaven, and upon earth there is one Lord Chingis Temingu Tingii, that is, The fawer of iron, because be was a Smith. He says also, That the Chan never does any thing without strange divinations by the shoulder-bones of rams, burnt into the blackness of coals; if the bones by the heat of the fire be cleft forth right, then he concludes he may do it; but if the bones be crackt athwart, or round pieces fly out of them, then he doth it not. These are unaccountable wicked charms, propagated by the enemy of mankind.

Leaving Tartary, I go fouthward to the kingdom of Siam, which is a rich country, beyond the gulph of Bengala, in the peninsula of India. M. Chaumont's embaffy to Siam, and Father Tachard, give this account of it +. Their religion cannot be known but from their books writ in the Baalic language, with them the tongue of the learned, and very few even among them

^{*} Harris's Collection, Vol. I. pag. 504, 505. † Historical Dictionary on the Word Siam. See also an historical Account of Siam, extracted out of the Voyages of fix Jesuits, sent there by the French King to 1685. and M. de la Louberie's Embally to the King of Siam, in Harris's Collect. Vol. II. page 465, Oc.

Chap. 7. Present State of Heathens in Asia. 161 understand it; besides, neither do these books always agree together, which makes the fearch into them more The fum of what has been gathered from them is to this purpose: They believe a God, but their notion of him is very different from ours; by him they understand a supreme Being, consisting of fpirit and body, whose property it is to help and relieve men, that is, to give them a law, to teach them the true Religion, with other arts and sciences that are useful to them. The perfections they attribute to him, are the union of all moral virtues, and that in the highest degree; they believe his agility to be such, as in a moment he can transport himself at what distance he pleases; that he can appear, or make himself invisible as he will; that he knows all things, is the teacher of all men; that his body is more glorious than the fun; that he was brought forth in time, and does continue for ever; that he is become a God, after having obtained an absolutely perfect virtue in several bodies, thro' which his foul has passed from time to time, and divefted his body of all human passions and motions, by a great number of transmigrations; that he arrives at the highest felicity after he dies, never to be born again; and that he appears no more in the world. This death is to be understood of the eternal, which rest, say they, this God enjoys in heaven after a certain number of ages, during which he has filled up the number of the elect, whom he was to bring up to the state of faints; and then, they fay, another takes his place, and governs the universe, that is to say, teaches men true Religion. And this other God is a perfect man, who has merited to become a God by his good actions, and is arrived at the highest degree of holiness. Those who have lived well here, become faints after they have attained abundance of virtues, and passed through many bodies, where they have been purified from all manner of vices. For, to become a deity, an incomparable fanctity is required, fuch as is exempt from the least defect whatsoever. They believe a Paradise and Hell, but suppose nei-

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other eternal; the longer or shorter stay in the one or other is determined, according as one has done more good works, or committed more fins. Hell, according to them, is divided into eight mansions, which are fo many degrees of punishment; they believe also, there is a fire that burns the damned. They diftinguish also eight degrees of blifs in heaven, in the three first of thefe, they suppose there are kings, princes, and people, and that in them the faints do marry. They believe angels, but suppose them to have bodies of both fexes; they distribute them into feven ranks or orders, allowing each order a different heaven, and that their office is to watch for the preservation of man, and to take care of the government of the universe: each part of the world has one of these intelligences to preside over it. They attribute angels to the stars, to the earth, to cities, mountains, forests, winds, rain, &c. they own no other devils but the fouls of wicked men, who being got out of hell, wander for a time up and down the world, and do all the mischief to men they can. The God whom the Siamese at present worship is called Sommon-ok-bodam; and the Talapoins fay, that his brother Thevat-hat became jealous of him, and waged war against him, but being unable to deprive him of his divinity, he fet up a new Religion, whence a multitude of other fects proceeded, and fay the Christians have their Religion from this Thevat-hat, who is punished in hell for perfecuting his brother: and by this means endeavour to deter people from Christianity. Their doctors fay, that Sommon-ok-bodam having taught the true Religion to man, died never to be born again, and ascended to the eighth heaven, there to enjoy the most perfect bliss; his body was burnt, but his bones are preferved till now, which are of a wonderful virtue, and cast an amazing brightness to dazzle the eyes of spectators, as a certain mark of his divinity.

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The Talapoins, who are the priefts, religious, and teachers of the Siamese, are looked on as the true imitators of their God; they have little or no commerce with the world, they never falute any layman, no not the

Chap. 7. Present State of Heathens in Asia.

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the king himself. Their monasteries are so many colleges for the training up of youth, and all the children of persons of quality are sent thither, so soon as capable of instruction; they live abstemiously, and obey one head, who is the priest of the great Pagod at Siam, the capital of the kingdom. They are clothed in yellow linnen, and have their heads shorn, are under a vow of chastity as long as priests, but may quit their priefthood and marry. They observe no particular rule, nor observe any day of the week set apart for their devotion, beside the days of the four quarters of the moon. They observe a kind of Lent, which lasts three months, during which, they abstain from feveral forts of food; they pray for the dead, and bury them with abundance of ceremony: for befide mulick, without which no confiderable person is ever buried, their funerals are often accompanied with stage-representations and fire-works. They eafily agree with those that are of a different Religion, because they believe all men may be faved in their own way, if they exercise themfelves in virtue and charity.

They give us this fystem of the world; they suppole the heaven and the earth to be increated and eternal, and cannot conceive the world ever had any beginning, or will have any end. The earth, according to them, is not round, but a flat superficies, which they divide into four square parts, separate from each other by water; and the whole earth is inclosed with a prodigious high wall, on which are engraven in great characters all the fecrets of nature. In the midit of these four parts of the world, there is a very high mountain, about which the fun and moon circulate continually, and by the daily revolution of these stars day and night is made. The earth has under it a vast depth of waters, which supports it, as the sea does a thip; and a violent wind which blows continually, keeps the waters that support the earth from falling down.

These are their extravagant notions.

They have very magnificent Pagods or temples; the most fumptuous, is that in the king's palace at Siam:

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at the gate, there is a cow on the one fide, and on the other a most hideous monster: the inside glitters with gold; the walls, the cieling, and all the pillars and figures are fo well gilt, that they feem to be all covered with plates of gold. After one is entred the temple, there stands a kind of altar, on which there are four figures of maffy gold, much about the height of a man, that fits cross-legged, as the cuftom is in Siam; a little further is a Choir, where is the richest Pagod or Idol of the kingdom, the name being given both to the idol and to the temple. The statue is standing, and with his head toucheth the roof of the temple; 'tis about 45 foot high, and 7 or 8 broad, and yet all of gold; according to the proportion, it cannot be less than 100 foot square, all of gold, that is 12500 pounds of this metal, for one foot square of gold weighs 125 pound, and accordingly the idol must be worth at least above twelve millions and five hundred They fay, this prodigious thousand French livres. Colossus was cast in the very place where it stands, and afterwards the temple built over it. At the fides of unis Colossus, there are several other statues of less fize, which are likewise of gold, and adorned with precious stones.

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The kingdom of Pegu is adjacent to Siam, in the fame peninfula of India beyond the Ganges. In the year 1567, the king of Pegu besieged Siam, with, as says my author, 1,400,000 men *, and took it after one and twenty months; at that time he had 26 crowned kings his vassals, with vast treasures of gold, silver, and precious stones. In 1568, there was a great war between these two kings, occasioned by a white elephant which the latter refused to sell the former: many particulars in these wars, and horrid heathenish cruelties exercised in them, are described by Manuel di Faria, in his Portuguese Asia, which here I pass. The people of Pegu are Pagans, excepting some who have made alliance with the Europeans, and embraced their Religion. These Pagans believe, that God is the author

^{*} Great Hist. Dictionary, Edit. 1694. on the Word Pegu.

Chap. 7. Present State of Heathens in Asia. 165 of all the good that befals men, but that he leaves the disposal of all evil to a wicked Angel, wherefore they have a greater veneration for a wicked Angel than they have for God. Their priefts are called Talapoi, and live upon alms, they highly exclaim against the offerings made by the people of Pegu to the devil, but cannot abolish that impiety. Adultery, fodomy, and all uncleannels, is very common among them. In the king's palace is a Varelle or Mosque, full of Pagods, that is, of idols made of mally gold and filver, crowned with precious stones, and adorned with chains of diamonds, of an ineftimable value. They keep holiday every new moon, believe the transmigration of souls, and honour their idols with festivals, in which wax lights are burnt before them.

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Many other Pagan kingdoms in the East-Indies agree in the same rites of idolatrous worship with those already described. I fear I should be too tedious, if I should particularly examine all of them. Goa in the kingdom of Decan, in the peninsula of India on this side the Ganges, is almost the only place the Portugueze posses in the East-Indies, of all their great conquests, being disposses of the rest by the English, Dutch and Danes; here the natives have such a veneration for monkies, that they build them Pagods, and worship them. In New Holland, Dampier says *, The natives are idolaters, and a most coarse and unpolished people, like those of Monomotapa in Africa.

Tonquin is a confiderable kingdom in the East-Indies, near Pegu and Siam; in ancient times it depended upon China, but these 600 years last past it has been governed by its own kings. The natives are Pagans, and are divided into three sects; the first takes its original from the old philosopher Consucius, whose memory is very samous in China, and most of the neighbouring kingdoms; they of this sect believe, that, when a man dies, his soul dissipates into the air; they sacrifice to the sun, moon, and other planets, and have sour prinma.

^{*} Voyage round the World, Vol. 1. chap. 15.
† Historical Dictionary on the Word Tonquin, from Tavernier.

cipal Gods, and one Goddess. The Gods are called Brama, Raumu, Betolo, and Ramonu; and the name of the Goddess is Satibana. But the King, the Mandarins, or Lords of the court, and the learned men, adore only the sky. The fecond feet came from a Hermite called Chacabant, who left them feveral commands, and the doctrine of the transmigration of the fouls. The third is that of Lantbu, a famous magician, who taught part of Chacabant's doctrine, and joined fome precepts concerning charity and the care of the poor. The Tonquinois adore three things in their houses, the heart or houshold God, an idol they call Tiensie, which is as the patron of all arts and callings; and Buabin, which they invoke to make their houses happy. Some of them adore the five parts of the earth, for they place a fifth in the middle of the other four; and in worshipping these, they have for each its particular colour: for when they facrifice to the North, their cloath, table, dishes, and all are black; when they adore the South, they they are clad in red; in green for the East, and white for the West; and for that in the middle of the world, they wear yellow. I think we have enough of them; he that would fee more, may read Tavernier's relation of Tonquin. The like superstitions are used in Cochin-China, Tsompa, Montabadan, Cambodia, Malacca, and fome neighbouring parts of the East-Indies, which I shall not particularly insist upon. May God of his goodness banish all these idolatrous rites, and promote true Religion in the life and power of it, according to his holy Word, among them.

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I design to discourse more fully concerning the state of Religion in China, in the sollowing chapter, and therefore shall write but very little concerning their idolatry and superstition in this. Monsieur Le Comte says *, idolatry did not begin with the commencement of the Chinese Empire, but prevailed in succeeding ages; it was introduced first with the use of magick. The professor of this art are called Tiensee, heavenly doctors;

Memoirs of China, Letter 10.

Chap.7. Present State of Heathens in Asia. 167 doctors; they live in fociety in great numbers, they covenant with the devil, cast lots, and perform magical wonders, whereby they delude the people, and increase their own reputation. Another sect, is of those who worship the idol F_0 , brought from the *Indies*, as they fay, 32 years after Christ's death; of which idol they tell wonders, that he did go as foon as born, and speak, saying, In beaven and earth I am the only person that deserves to be worshipped: yet he died at 79 years of age, and the Bonzes or priests worship him. Yea, they adore the ape, the elephant, and the dragon, they fet them up in their temples, and offer meat, incense and prayers to them; but if they be offended, and get not their askings, they give them ill names and blows too. The Bonzes tell fick people, That after death their fouls will transmigrate into borses, mares, &c. which to frighted an old man, that he fent for our author and turned Christian. But 'tis not easy to tell all the ridiculous stories of their superstition; their religious ceremonies, opinions and morals are very different, fince every day the Bonzes invent new whimfies. There are some Mahometans in China. The emperor endeavours to procure the peoples favour, and therefore shews respect to the Bonzes, yet does not listen to all their fopperies, tho' he believes one God. Statereasons hinder him from receiving the truths of the Gospel, which is a great obstacle to its progress. But the power of God, which, fays Le Comte, hath confounded many idols, overthrown their temples, made viceroys, ministers of state, and one empress submit to Christianity, can conquer all these difficulties.

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Corea lies in the North-east coast of China. A Dutch vessel that was shipwreck'd there, gives this account of the state of religion with them. The Coresians * have scarce any Religion, nor do they respect their idols half so much as other barbarous nations do. They believe, however, that virtue shall be rewarded, and vice punished in the other world; and their whole country M 4

* Harris's complete Collection of Voyages, Vol. 2. Appendix, pag. 39.

fwarms with religious men and women, much of the fame nature with those that are in Roman Catholick countries, from whom, besides several other points, they differ in this, viz. That 'tis lawful for any man in Corea, to go in and come out of a monastery when he pleases; and their king may make such alterations as he sees sit, in all affairs of this nature.

Having confidered the state of Paganism in the continent of Asia, I shall now take a view of the same, in

fome of the principal islands.

I begin with Ceylon, which is a pleafant ifle in the Indian sea, on this side Ganges, near cape Comori. Bochart hath endeavoured to prove, that 'tis not only the Ophir of Solomon, but also the Taprobane of the ancients, mentioned by Pliny, Strabo and Ptolemy. The last of these authors makes Taprobane much bigger than Ceylon at this day is; but this does not weaken Bochart's reasoning, since the islanders affert, That the sea bas gained upon, and overflowed a great part of the land. The Dutch now are masters of most of the maritime towns there, that were once possessed by the Portuguese. Here are all kind of drugs, with cinnamon, precious stones, gold and pearls; which last, are fished up in the streights between this isle and the firm land. There is a mountain, called the Pic of Adam, esteemed the highest in all the East-Indies, in the middle of the island. The natives, fays Hornbeeck *, called Singales, conceive bere was paradife, and that Adam was created there, or at least driven thither, as to the middle of the world, there to be buried; and shew the print of his feet upon stones. The natives are Pagans, and own one supreme God, and that he has delivered the care of affairs to inferiors, of whom they have many different idols and images; they worship elephants, and white apes, especially one, who they fay, was once a God, but for some fault or other was turned out of heaven, and changed into a monkey. They shew a precious relique of a tooth kept in a Pagod, upon the Pic of Adam, worshipped yearly by a multitude

^{*} De Conversione Indorum, Lib. 5. cap. 5. pag. 41.

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titude of people and pilgrims who refort thither, When the Portuguese came into the isle, in the year 1554, they feized this mountain, and Pagod, conceiving, that by the famed fanctity of the place, and the multitude of pilgrims who refort thither, they would find great riches. But they found nothing, fave a little cheft adorned with precious stones, where they kept this tooth, which they carried off. To recover it, the kings of Ceylon, Pegu, Siam, Bengala, and Bisnagar, fent to the viceroy of Portugal ambassadors, offering befide other gifts, feven hundred thousand ducats of gold; but the Portuguese archbishop Gaspar, disfuaded them from delivering up the idol, faying, It would turn to the reproach of the Christians, that they allowed Pagans the use of their idols for a piece of money. Therefore, he caused the tooth to be burnt in the view of its admirers, and scatter'd the ashes into the air. Some Benjans understanding the grief their people were in for this loss, deluded them, faying, the tooth was found, which by a miracle they recovered out of the hands of the Portuguese, another being put in the room thereof, which they ignorantly burnt for the true one; and, that it was confirmed by the oracle of a Pagod, this was the true tooth they shewed them. The people easily believed, and the king of Bisnagar gave the deceivers a round fum for the tooth, and ordered every body to esteem and worship it, as they had done the

Robert Knox, who had been captive in Ceylon, near twenty years, viz. from 1659 to 1679, wrote a history of that island, printed in a thin Folio, in the year 1681, which may give fome fatisfaction to the curious, concerning the natural and political state of the country. I shall only remark a few things from this author, to our present purpose. He says *, the Religion of the country is idolatry; there are many Gods and Devils they worship under particular names; they acknowledge one to be supreme, whom they call, Osfa poll Maupt Dio, which fignifies, the creator of heaven and

^{*} Knox's History of Ceylon, pag. 72.

Present State of Heathens 170 and earth, who still rules and governs the same. This great supreme God, they hold, sends forth other deities to see his will and pleasure executed in the world, and these are petty and inferior Gods; these, say they, are the fouls of good men, who formerly lived upon the earth. There are devils also, which are the inflicters of fickness and misery upon men. There is another great God, whom they call Biddou, to whom the falvation of the foul belongs; they believe him once to have come to the earth, and that when he was there, he did usually sit under a large shady tree, called Bogabab, which trees, ever fince, are counted holy; and under them to this day, with great folemnity, they celebrate his worship: he departed from the earth, off the top of the highest mountain, called Pico Adam, where there is an impression like a foot, which they fay is his. "These people worship devils, and offer "them facrifices; they dedicate a red cock to the " devil *, which the Taddese or Priest, of whom they " have feveral forts, confecrates. The devil domineers over them; they fay their country is fo full of devils " and evil fpirits, that unless they should adore them, "they would be destroyed by them. Christians, they " own, have a prerogative above them, and are not under " the power of these infernal spirits. I have many times,

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fays our author, feen men and women among this people strangely possessed, insomuch as I could judge it
nothing else, but the effect of the devil's power upon

"them, and they fometimes acknowledge it is fo. I have observed any who did profess to be a worshipper of the holy name of Fesus, in the like condition.

"Some of them run mad into woods, screeching and roaring; some will be taken speechless, shaking,

"quaking, and dancing, will tread on the fire, and not be hurt, and talk like diffracted folk. He adds †,

"This for certain I can affirm, that oftentimes the devil does cry with an audible voice in the night,

" very shrill, almost like the barking of a dog. The voice

^{*} Knox's History of Ceylon, pag. 75-77 † Ibidem, pag. 78.

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woice is heard only in Cande-Uda, the metropolis of the country, never in the low lands. They prepare an offering of victuals ready dressed, one dish where of is always a red cock, which they as frequently offer to the devil, as papists wax candles to the saints. They go often a begging charity for Biddou, towards his facrifice: they give ordinarily oil for his lamps, rice for his facrifice, and money or cotton-yarn for his use. If their children be born under any evil or unlucky planet, as they call it, or if the

" aftrologer fay fo, they kill the poor infants *." According to this author, 'tis no wonder the Christian Religion has made little or no progress in this island, for he fays near the end of this book +, " If any en-" quire into the religious exercise and worship practised " among the Christians here, I'm forry, I must say, "I can give but a flender account of it; for they have " no churches, no priefts, and fo no meetings on the "Lord's day, for divine worship, but each one reads " or prays in his own house, as he is disposed; they " fanctify the day chiefly by refraining from work, and " meeting together at drinking-houses: they continue " the practife of baptism, but having no priests, they bap-" tize their children themselves, with water, in the name " of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy "Ghost, and give them Christian names; they have " their friends about them at fuch a time, and make a " small feast, according to their ability. Some teach "their children to fay prayers, and read, and some "do not. Indeed their Religion is at best but Negative; " they don't comply with the idolatry here practifed, " and in general profess themselves Christians, as ap-" pears by their names: beads and crosses some of " them wear about their necks; but this is all. Nor " can I wholly clear them from complying with the Re-" ligion of the country, for some of them, when lick, " use the ceremonies which the heathens do in the " like case; as in making idols of clay, setting them

^{*} Knox's History of Ceylon, pag. 94. † Ibidem, pag. 188.

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" up in their houses, offering rice to them, and having weavers to dance before them; but they are ashamed " to be feen to do this, and I have known none to do it, but such as are Indian born. Yet I never knew any of them, who in heart and conscience incline " to the ways of the heathen, but perfectly abhor them; nor have there been any I ever heard of, that came to their temples on any religious account, "but only stand and look on, except one old priest " named Padre Vergeance, a Genoese born, and of the " Jesuits order, who would go to the temples, and eat with the weavers, or other ordinary people, of the facrifices offered to the idols, but with this " apology for himself, that he eat it as common meat, " and as God's creature, and that it was never the " worfe for the fuperstition passed upon it. But enough at this time of Ceylon."

The Maldives are a great number of islands, some reckon above 12000 of them, but some of these are only uninhabited sandy hillocks; they cross the Equator, and run from the south to the south-west, toward the coast of Malabar, lying in thirteen clusters. The inhabitants are generally Mahometans, and therefore I

leave them, and pass to

Sumatra, which is one of the three greatest isles in the Sound in the East-Indies: it lies near Borneo, and the promontory of Malacea; it extends from north-west to south-east, 910 English miles; its greatest breadth being of 210; there are several kingdoms in it: it is divided by the equinoctial line, into almost two equal parts, which makes the air very hot and unhealthy; the ground produces abundance of Aromatics. The natives are generally heathens, but about 230 years since, by the diligence of some Arabian merchants trading thither, Mahometanism began to spread upon the coasts *.

Toward the fouth of Borneo and Sumatra, lies the ifle of Java, about 200 leagues in length, and 50 in breadth; it was formerly subject to many princes, now there

^{*} Heylin's Cosmography, Edit. London 1652. Folio, pag. 254.

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there are but two in it, the one of Bantam, and the other of Materan, who is styled the Emperor of Java; the country is very fruitful in Aromatics. The Dutch made themselves masters of Jacatra, one of the principal cities of the isle, in 1617; 'tis now the residence of the chief of the company, and the best bank in the Indies. Indeed the Hollanders have a greater power in the isles of Java and Sumatra, where they have several forts, than the kings themselves, and in a manner are their masters. In matters of Religion, the people of Java are Mahometans, or Gentiles, according to the humour

of their kings.

A little to the north of Java, lies the large isle of Borneo, so called from a city of that name; it lies between the 7th degree 30 minutes, north latitude, and 4th degree 10 minutes of fouth, under the equinoctial, which divides it into two unequal parts; it is in length 700 miles, in breadth 480, and in circuit about 2000; it is counted the biggest island not only in the Indian fea, but perhaps in the whole world. Most of the inhabitants are Mahometans, but the inland people, called Byajos, are Pagans: they are an idle fort of people, hating industry or trade, and living generally upon rapine, and the spoil of their neighbours. go naked, and only have a small piece of cloath that covers their privities: they make offerings to the devil. Captain Beeckman *, who staid some years in that country, fays, that even the Mahometans there retain fome pagan customs; some of the wifest of them, have not fuch an aversion to Christianity, as the Mahometans in other places, who generally are professed enemies to it. But here they speak very respectfully of Jesus Christ, and say, he was a great prophet; they believe, that Adam was the first man, that the world was once drowned +, which they have reason to do, feeing yearly fuch deluges in their own country; and they believe, that there are people in the world, tho none

^{*} Captain Daniel Beeckman's Voyage to Borneo, printed at London, in 1718. 8vo. pag. 43. & pag. 120. + Ibidem, pag. 122.

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none among them, whom they call Oran Moofa, meaning the Jews, who they fay follow only the law of Moses, rejecting the doctrine of both Mahomet and Jesus. Captain Beeckman adds *, I cannot think it would be a difficult matter to establish the Christian Religion among them: it is true, the Romish missionaries attempted it formerly, but after making many profelytes, they ruined their own design, and lost their lives by their obstinacy and indiscreet zeal. Cay Deponattee, a man of the greatest character for probity among them, told me, that several years ago, there came into those parts a Portuguese padre or monk, who by his courteous behaviour gained a great many to the Christian Religion; but not content to preach among them, he must needs venture up the inland country, among the barbarous people called Byajos, by whom he was cruelly murdered. Some few years ago, long after the former was dead, there came another, who spoke the language as well as a native of that country: by his presents, particularly of linnen, and his shew of having so little value for money, assuring them, that his voyage thither, was not out of any motive of worldly interest, but to save their souls; he infinuated bimself mightily into their favour, and made great progress while among the Banjareens. But after some time, he told them, that the spirit of his deceased brother had appeared to him, telling him, how he was slain in the inland country, and ordering him to come thither; that accordingly he must go to the place where his brother was murdered. The Banjareens had great love and respect for him, and used all means to dissuade him, particularly this Cay Deponattee. However, all was in vain, for he was refolved to go, and said, if they put him to death, be would glory in his sufferings. Accordingly he went, and made many proselytes, who built him a church, and were ready even to worship him; till at last they began to be discontented, and murmur at the great expence he put them to, in adorning their church with gold, &c. and more especially, because he had not performed his promise, of shew-

^{*} Captain Daniel Beeckman's Voyage to Borneo, pag. 123, to

ing them all their deceased friends, whom indeed he promised they should see in the other world; but they underfood that it was to be in this world, neither could be beat that notion out of their heads. So that taking him for a false prophet and an impostor, since his words did not prove as they understood them, they put the poor man to a most cruel death, and demolished the church, which they looked upon as a decoy to cheat them of all their riches. Now, had be staid among the Banjareens, I doubt not but he might have succeeded in his designs, and have converted the whole civilized part of the country: by which means, and by the influence and power of these people, the Gospel might have been more easily propagated among that other barbarous, savage nation. Neither was there less imprudence, in endeavouring to persuade them so soon to part with their riches, which they are so fond of, to embelish churches; for that could be done in due time, when they were better instructed in the principles of Christianity. Nor do I see what necessity there was for such mighty ornaments, more than the Apostles required in the primitive times, among much more civilized and sensible nations; but no good ever comes of blind zeal. So far concerning Borneo, what is faid, may be a warning to other missionaries, to join prudence with zeal.

The Sindæ or Celebes, are a fet of islands to the southeast of Borneo; the people for the most part are heathens, intermixed on the sea-coast with some Maho-

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The Moluccoes, are a cluster of isles, to the east of the Celebes, famous for Aromatics; the Dutch have engrossed that trade, expelling the Spaniards, Portuguese and others. The natives for the most part are heathen idolaters, with some Mahometans on the sea-coasts. The isle of Banda is samous for nutmegs; the natives are Mahometans or Gentiles.

The Philippines, are a cluster of islands in the Indian fea, between China and the Moluccoes; they were so called, because they were first possessed by the Spaniards, in the reign of Philip the second: the Portuguese named them Manhilles, the chief of them being so called; the

Indians

Indians call them Luzones: authors affirm there are above 1200 of them. They were discovered in the year 1520, by Ferdinand Magellan a Portuguese, who was killed there, in the isle of Cebu; but were not inhabited by the Spaniards, till 1564. In the Paris edition of the Jesuits Letters, by one dated at Carouvepondi, in the kingdom of Carnate, January 1. 1702, 'tis affirmed, these missionaries have made a discovery of a great many more Philippine islands than were before known *, and give a chart of them. The Dutch East-India company have almost ruined the trade of the Spamiards in these parts, and occasioned a desertion of a great many of these islands from them. Some of the natives are Mahometans, but the greater part are Pagans, who worship fun, moon, and stars, which they hold to be the children of the fun and moon: their priests are for most part women, who are forcerers and propheteffes; they worship the devil in ugly shapes, and whatever they meet first in the morning, unless it be fome lizard or worm, which are held unlucky, and makes them leave their business and return home. They use to deck their idols with oftrich feathers; at facrificing a hog, they found cymbals: two old women with pipes of reed, reverence the fun, and in their facred garments, with hair-laces and horns on the head of the elder, dance about the hog, muttering certain words to the fun; then a cup of wine is poured on the hog's head, by the elder of these two hags, who at last kills the beast, and takes into her mouth a burning torch, which she bites +; the other witch, with the fwine's blood, marks the foreheads of all prefent, and then they fall to dreffing the hog, which the women only eat up. Leaving the Philippines, I pass to

Formosa, which is an isle that lies upon the east side of China, to the north of the Philippines, 24 leagues from China, 150 from Japan, and is about 130 in circuit:

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* Lettres Edifiantes & Curieuses écrites par Missionaires de la Compagnie de Jesus, Recueil 6.

† koss's Pansebeia, pag. 89. from Ant, Pegasetta, and Nort's Navigation.

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circuit: it abounds in cinamon and ginger, and hath fome mines of gold; the inhabitants obey neither king nor fovereign, but live like a fort of republicans, giving the government of every town to twelve fenators, whom they change at the end of two years. The Portuguese had possession here, from the time of their conquests in the Indies, till the year 1635, when they were expelled by the Dutch *. The women are their priefts, and perform all the functions of their pagan worship; they adore feveral Gods, one who prefides over the South, whom they call Tamagifangab, his wife in the East, whom they call Tekarpuda; when it thunders in the East, they say the wife is chiding her husband for hindering rain; and then it quickly comes +. They have another God in the North, whom they call Soufano, who is the author of calamities, and they worship him, that he may not fend them. Other deities they have, that they call upon in wars and battels, which are frequent in this country; and another idol, which is worshipped by people who desire long life; 'tis the image of a fat, lufty old man, with a hart and an ape standing by him: for they conceive, to feed on deers flesh, tends to prolong the life.

Mr. George Candidius, a Dutch minister, who resided at the sactory of that nation in Formosa, a considerable time, reports ||, that women only are employed in their sacred things; they believe the immortality of the soul, but entertain ridiculous notions about the distribution of rewards and punishments in another world; for they look upon the grossest immoralities as trisses, and make heinous vices meritorious among them: for example, their priestesses forbid all women to bring any children into the world, till their mothers be passed the age of thirty six; and accordingly the infants are murdered in the mother's womb, by these

inhumane

^{*} Great Historical Dictionary on Formofa.

[†] Hornbeeck de Conversione Indorum, pag. 50.

Harris's complete Collection of Voyages and Travels, Vol. 2.
Appendix, pag. 40.

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inhumane priestesses, who thereby put the mother to more torment than if their children were born into the world, in the ordinary manner.— Their worship, says he, I think, of all nations under the sun, is the most impious and abominable; for these infernal priestesses, whom they call Inibs, after abundance of ridiculous ceremonies, pretending their Gods have appeared to them, strip themselves of all their clothes, in the presence of the whole congregation, and address their Deities in that posture, with their impious prayers, in a long and tedious harangue.— Murder is but a trisle with them, and is made up between the relations of the defunct, and the murderer, for a few skins, or some such trisle. But I am weary of these abominations, may God of his grace deliver these people from them,

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by the light of the glorious Gospel.

I proceed now to Japan, which is an infland, or cluster of islands, whereof Japan is the chief, lying Eastward of China, between the 31st and 34th degrees of North latitude, and the 171st and 178th of longitude, about 12 days passage from China, from which country they have borrowed their Religion and Learning; in matters doubtful, they appeal to their practice. Portuguese discovered these isles in the year 1542. Francis Xavier a Jesuit, in the year 1549, preached the Roman faith there, with so much success, that his brethren pretend they had made 200000 converts; but these apostatised so fast, that there was scarce one of them to be found there feven years after. I defign to give some account of Xavier's life in the following chapter, and therefore in this place shall only remark, that the fudden conversion of these proselytes, their surprifing apoltafy, their being baptized before they were ever instructed in the Christian Faith, and the many lying miracles which the Jesuits boast were done by him, makes me give little credit to the numbers they fay he converted. Indeed the Bonzes in Japan were great enemies to the progress of Christianity there, not so much by disputing, as by a method the Papists themselves use, arming the secular power; and at last they drove

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drove the emperor to fuch violences, as wholly to extirpate it in his dominions, and to enlarge the martyrology of the Jesuits, as he did in the year 1636. The ingenuous confession of a Spaniard gives some colour for the precaution of these infidels. The Spamiard being asked by the king of Taffo, how the king of Spain conquered to great tracts of land in both hemispheres? he too honestly answered, That he sent monks to preach in foreign nations, and after they had converted a good number of pagans, he sent his troops, who joining with the new converts, subdued the country.

imprudent answer cost the Christians very dear.

'Tisalfo alledged, That the Dutch raised base calumnies against these new proselytes in Japan, which in part occafioned a terrible perfecution against them, whereby these merchants obtained their delign to worm the Portuguese out of the trade of these rich islands, which they now poffels, fecluding all others. This is not the only instance of the unjustifiable methods the Hollanders have used, to engross to themselves the riches and trade of the East-Indies. The tragedy acted by them upon the English in Amboyna, one of the Molucco islands, in the year 1618, is another monument, that they stick at nothing to gain their purposes; of which a particular account may be seen in a little book, entitled, The bistory of the cruelties and massacres committed by the Dutch in the East-Indies, by Robert Hall, printed at London in 1712, in 8vo. and 'tis also printed in the Appendix to Harris's complete Collection of Travels *..

The perfecution of missionaries continues to this day In Japan; for I find in the publick news from Madrid, January 30th, 1720, the following paragraph. We have received letters from Madraspatan in the East-Indies, of the 25th of December 1718, That advice was come to that place, that the Abbot John Baptist Sidotti, a Sicilian, died in the country of Japan, in the torments be suffered for the Christian Faith; his zeal for the conversion of infidels induced him to go into that country, notwithstanding the severe laws of that government, whereby

^{*} Appendix to Vol. 2. pag. 8, &c.

all Europeans in general, and most particularly missionaries, are forbid coming there. He was no sooner arrived
but he was taken up, and condemned to die; he was
sent to the governour of the province, and after some
small liberty allowed him, it being discovered he had converted some of the people of Japan to the Christian Faith,
a very extraordinary punishment was inflicted upon him;
for the insidels immured him with his hands tied between two
walls, built so close that he could not stir himself, allowing him no other sood than a little rice and water every
evening. This torment soon put an end to his life; he

died about the beginning of the year 1714.

The Japonese are now almost wholly Pagans. Monfieur Bale gives the following account of them from the Abbot de T-'s history of Japan, which being the fullest I have met with, I here insert it *. The monarchy of Japan, says be, is divided into two states, Ecclesiastick and Secular; the first is composed of Bonzes, a name common to all the ministers of the Japonese Gods; they profess a celibacy, but do not observe it exactly; they abstain from sless, shave their beards and hair, and conceal their debaucheries under the appearance of an auftere life; they have a fovereign whom they call Jaco or Xaco, who has authority over all the rest of the judges, in affairs of Religion, and determines what ought to be practifed concerning the worship of the Gods, and believed concerning the nature of them; he elects the Tandes, who dispose of things less important, and represent, in some manner, our bishops. They have two forts of Gods; the first are Demons, whom they worship under several figures, not in hopes of receiving good from them, but from fear of being hurt by them. The fecond fort are kings, conquerors, and wife men, whom they have placed in the number of their Gods; the two principal are Amida and Xaca, the first is represented under several monstrous figures: in one of his temples which is at Fedo, he is carried on a horse with seven heads; the finest of his temples is at Meaco, 'tis 500 foot in length, there

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^{*} Bale's Critical Dictionary on the Word Fapan.

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there are in it 1000 idols of massy gold. As for Saca or Xaca, the Bonzes tell a thousand impertinent stories of him: they fay he was born 800 times in different species before he was born of a woman; that when he was born, he came out of his mother's womb eating his way with his teeth. The truth is, Xaca was a fophister, who persuaded the people every thing he had a mind to: his mother big with child of him, dreamed that a white elephant came out of her mouth, for which reason, elephants of that colour in several places of the Indies, as China, Tonquin, Siam, and Pegu, are served in vessels of gold, and great lords go in crowds to visit them, and pay them honours as kings. One of the three principal fects of the Japonese, is that of the worshippers of Xaca, they live in common, rise at midnight, fing hymns, and meet every morning to hear a subject of discourse their superiors make on some moral subject; when 'tis over, one gives his superior an account of his thoughts, and the refolutions he has They reckon a dozen fects or religious in Japan, every one is at liberty to chuse which he pleases, which occasions divisions; because, say they, underderstandings have no tie of relations, like bodies. Among these there are three principal; the first hope not for a life after this, and know no other substance than what strikes their senses; the second believe the immortality of the foul, and another life: this is followed by the best fort of people, and is called, The feet of the most high God. The third is that of the worshippers of Xaca. Some authors, says Possevin*, maintain, That the most general division that can be made of the sects of the Japonese, is to rank under them such as make profession of sticking to Appearance, and others that feek Reality which does not strike sense, which they call Truth, Those that stick to Appearance admit another life after this, for eternal recompence of good men, and punishment of bad. They fay, that in four cardinal points of the world there are certain countries, where the inhabitants are in a plenary fatisfaction, N 3

^{*} Bibl. Selecta, Lib. 10.

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which makes them enjoy a supreme felicity. That Frotoque made all the laws of Japan, and they who obferve them shall no sooner leave this life, than they shall go into those places where they shall be born again; Frotoque shall transform them, and give 32 figures, and 80 qualities, with which they shall live eternally in a perfect beatitude. The women shall not be admitted into these countries, but those who shall be faved by observing the laws of Frotoque, shall be transformed into men. As for transgressors of his laws, they shall go from this life to infernal places, and shall fuffer fix forts of punishments, which shall never have an end. This is the opinion of the ignorant and vulgar. Those who seek internal insensible Reality, reject heaven and hell, and teach things which have a great affinity with Spinosa's opinion; they symbolize with the Epicureans, taking from God the government of the world, as a thing contrary to his supreme tranquility, which, according to them, is all his felicity. Nay, they go further than Epicurus, for they deprive God of understanding and reason. Possevin censures the institutes of the Japonese legislature; 1st, That they command idolatry, chiefly the worship of Camus and Frotogue. 2dly, That when they forbid the Bonzes the use of women, they allow Pederastie or Sodomy; they prohibit the former as abominable, and allow the latter as honest and holy. 3dly, They forbid to kill certain beafts confecrated to Camus and Frotoque, and yet allow men to kill one another, yea even to be their own murderers in a most barbarous manner. Hornbeeck tells us *, That some of the Japonese pretending to religion, throw themselves headlong from a high castle in honour of a neighbouring idol, or go out to fea in a boat, with a hook to cut the briars and thorns that hinder the way to the feats of the bleffed, and boring a hole in the bottom of the boat, and binding stones to their neck, arms, and feet, they drown themselves with or without the veffel; which, if it float, their friends in another boat take it up and burn it, thinking it indecent

^{*} De Conversione Indorum, pag. 54. Sect. ult. & pag. 55.

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decent that such a sacred relique should be converted to common uses; and to such martyrs they erect temples and monuments, which in honour of the deceased are religiously frequented. Others shut themselves up in a den within the earth, where they breathe thro' a pipe, and call on their God Amida, till they be killed with hunger. Among these wretches, the devil hath so many martyrs. Yea, he says, that the Japonese have 13000 idols, of whom none are wanting in the king's court. Finally, the laws of Japan declare, That by the invocation of Namuam-dabut, all crimes may be expiated, without any kind of repentance. To such a height of wickedness and superstition do men go, when they want divine revelation!

There are some parts of Asia not yet discovered, called Terra Australis incognita, where the people we suppose are heathens, but we have no information concerning them. I have seen a history of the Severaites or Severambi, a people in that continent, said to be writ by one Captain Siden *, who, with many others, were shipwreck'd on those coasts, and lived many years in the country. The story is diverting enough, and he describes them as a very polite people; but I look on it as a romance.

Neither do I know of any other considerable country in Asia beside those we have discoursed of, generally inhabited by heathens. As to the large territories possessed by Mabometans, and Christians of the Greek church tolerated among them, my present design does

not oblige me to give any account of them.

What hath already been faid in the first and fifth chapters of this Essay, concerning the Unity of God, the Truth of the Christian Religion, and the Vanity of Paganism, does abundantly discover the absurdity of all the idolatry and superstition these heathenish countries are guilty of. The same may be observed of the heathens in Africa and America. The Christian Religion, when rightly understood, is one and the same; 'tis agreeable to sound reason, and sounded upon one infallible rule, N 4

^{*} Printed at London 1675. in 8vo.

184 Present State of Heathens in Africa.

The boly Word of God: but all these Pagan Religions are so unreasonable, as to overturn themselves, and so widely difagreeing, being founded upon no certain rule, as to refute and overturn one another. This then confirms what hath been above demonstrated, of the infufficiency of nature's light to conduct men to true happiness, and of the necessity of divine relation; since these Religions invented by men, or by the enemy of mankind, are so absurd and soul-ruining. And finally, the deplorable condition these heathenish countries are in, should move our bowels of pity to plead at the throne of grace for their convertion, and to use our utmost endeavours to effectuate it, that both we and they may be members of the fame mystical body of Christ, and may ferve him as those redeemed by his merit, and fanctified by his spirit; then shall the kingdoms of the world become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ, and he shall reign for ever and ever; then shall piety and boliness revive, the righteousness of Zion go forth as brightness, and her salvation as a lamp that burneth. But of this more afterward, mean time I pass to

Africa: The fouthern parts thereof infected with Gentilism, which lie toward the Ethiopick ocean, were first discovered to us in Europe by Vasco di Gama, when, by the direction of the King of Portugal, he failed into the East-Indies, in the year 1497. The northern parts of Africa that lie towards the Mediterranean sea, had once many beautiful Christian Churches; Tertullian, Cyprian, Arnobius, Augustine, Fulgentius, and other fathers of the primitive church lived in these bounds. There, many councils of the Christians assembled, particularly that of Cartbage, under Aurelius their bishop in the year 419, where legates from the rest of the provinces, as the Numidia's, Byzacen, Mauritania's, Tripoli, and the rest of the proconsular Africa, were present. But now, alas! all these places are fadly over-run with Mahometanism.

There are few Christian Churches now to be found in Africa, except those in the large country of Abyssinia,

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called the empire of Prester-John, containing the great and higher Ethiopia, a kingdom 1500 miles long, and half as broad. Because the history of that church may be instructing to every body, and particularly useful to missionaries, I here insert an abstract thereof. Michael Geddes, doctor of divinity, during his nine years refidence at Lisbon, furnished himself with all the Portuquese books that do any way concern Ethiopia, and has given us a curious history of that church. From him principally I shall offer some account of their affairs. Tis a constant tradition among them, that the Queen of Sheba, who went to visit Solomon, was empress in their country; her name, they lay, was Maqueda: within a few weeks after she returned home, she was delivered of a fon begot by Solomon called Meneleber *; when he was of age, he went to Jerusalem, where his father entertained him kindly, and instructed him in the Jewish Religion, changing his name to that of David, he fent home with him Priests and Levites to instruct his country. 'Tis also reported among them, that the Eunuch who was baptized by Philip the deacon, was steward to their empress, who returning home after his baptism converted his mistress, and her whole empire to the Christian Religion, in the profession whereof they have fince continued stedfast. These things are uncertain.

But we find it recorded by Ruffinus †, that in the beginning of the fourth Century, one Meropius a Christian philosopher in Tyre, going into India with two of his scholars, Frumentius and Edesius, had the missortune to touch on the coast of Ethiopia, where Meropius was murdered by the natives; but his two scholars having their lives spared, and being found to be youths of fine parts as well as beauty, they were carried to court, where Frumentius was put into the secretary's office, and Edesius made butler. When the emperor came to die, he gave them both their liberty; but as they

^{*} Geddes's History of Ethiopia, printed at London 1696. in 8vo. † Hist, Eccles. lib. 1. cap. 9.

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they were preparing to return home, the queen regent importuned them to stay, and undertake the tutelage of her fon till he was of age: which they confenting to do, during that time wrote to all the Roman merchants residing in the ports of Ethiopia, who were Christians, to affemble together to worship God, as they did daily. When their pupil the young king came to administer the government, they both defired leave to return home; which being obtained with great difficulty, Edefius went to Tyre to live with his relations, and Frumentius went directly to Alexandria: thinking it unreasonable to conceal this doing of the Lord, he reported the same to Aibanasius then bishop of that place, defiring him to provide some proper persons, and fend them to edify the Church of Christ in these Athanasius, overjoy'd with the news, said to Frumentius, Whom can we find so proper as your self, in whom the Spirit of God is? and for that end ordained him. He returning to the country, which Ruffinus indeed calls India, but this being a general name the Romans gave to those parts they were not acquainted with, 'tis probable, by the context of the story, that it was the higher Ethiopia or Abyssinia; there he did convert an incredible number of these people to the Christian Faith; for he had given him an apostolical spirit, and to this day the Christian Church and Priestbood continues in that country. Ruffin fays, he had this account from the mouth of Edesius a presbyter at Tyre, the companion of Frumentius. Frumentius continued orthodox, in opposition to the Arians, even to the time of the Emperor Constantius, as appears by his letter to the princes of Axum, recorded in Athananasius's apology. About the year 480, nine monks are faid to have been fent from Rome into Ethiopia. The Emperor Justinian being engaged in a war with the Persians in the year 530, sent one Julian ambassador to the king of the Axumites, or African Ethiopians, and to the king of the Homerites, a nation inhabiting the Asiatick coast of the Red-Sea opposite to Ethiopia, to engage them, being Christians, to assist him against the

Chap. 7. Of the Church of Abyssinia. 187 the Persians, the common enemy of their Religion. These are some hints of the ancient history of the church of Ethiopia, which are also observed by Dr. Goddes. *.

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But there are two things I shall principally remark concerning that church, their doctrine, and the methods the church of Rome have used to subject them to the Pope, with the fuccess of the same. As to their doctrine and religious rites, in Abyssima any who inclines to be a monk, retires to a defart, where he puts on what habit he pleafeth, fo long as they profess themfelves monks, which they are always at liberty to give over: they are obliged to falt every day in the year till three a-clock in the afternoon, and to affemble at midnight and other stated hours for devotion. They are very strict in their fasts, some of them never eating but on Sundays. Their monasteries are more like villages than Roman convents, every monk having his diffinct dwelling-house, with as much land laid to it as a man is able to cultivate. When they come to die, they dispose of their goods as they please, only the land still remains to the monastery; this course falls in with that of the primitive monks, who lived in the defarts, wrought hard, and were under no vows. Popish monks have their monasteries in populous cities, they're hurry'd into them, fetter'd by vows for their whole life, and become lazy to a proverb. The most famous of the Ethiopian monasteries is that of Allelujah, where formerly there are faid to have been 40000 monks, the whole country round being given to them to cultivate. I do not find, fays Dr. Geddes +, That any fort of learning did ever flourish among the Abyslinians; they have but few books except the bible, the canons of the first councils, and lives of their saints. hold the Scriptures to be the perfect rule of the Christian Faith, insomuch, as they deny it to be in the power of a general council to oblige people to believe any thing as an article of Faith, without express warrant from the word of

+ Ibidem, pag. 31.

^{*} Church-History of Ethiopia, pag. 15, to 29.

of God. Their Scripture canon confists of eighty five books, viz. of the Old Testament forty six, and of the new

thirty nine.

Concerning our Saviour's Incarnation, they are all Eutychians, holding there is but one nature in Christ. that is the divine, by which they maintain the human is swallowed up. They were led into this heresy by Dioscorus the patriarch of Alexandria, who was condemned for it by the council of Chalcedon, whose authority they reject. They allow the bishop of Rome to be the first patriarch, but condemn his pretended fupremacy over the whole church as Antichristian, and do detest Popery to that degree, that, of the two, they would rather turn Mahometans than Papists. fupreme authority over all persons and causes is in the emperor, whether in matters ecclefistical or civil; they have but one bishop at a time, who is called Abuna, that is, our Father; he is always an Alexandrian monk: upon notice of a vacancy, he is confecrated and fent into Ethiopia by the Alexandrian patriarch, to whom this church has been always subject; he ordains only by imposition of hands, he has considerable lands and revenues. Their priefts may marry after they are in orders, and as often as they are widowers. They have divers forms of baptism, they circumcise both males and females, and baptize all every year on the feaft of Epiphany. They hold, that men derive their fouls no less than their bodies from their parents; and that the children of Christian parents, especially of a Christian mother, are faved, tho' they die without baptism.

They celebrate the Eucharist but once a day in a church, at which none must be present without communicating. The laity as well as the clergy receive the cup; they do not elevate nor worship the consecrated elements, neither are they kept after the communion; they consecrate unleavened bread, which they break after consecration; they reckon the receiving of the Sacrament breaks their fast, and therefore receive it not on a fasting-day till three a-clock in the afternoon. They do not believe Transubstantiation, as appears by their

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Liturgy, where the words of the institution are thus set down, This bread is my body, this cup is my blood; which propositions, by the Romanists themselves, cannot be understood otherwise than figuratively. Paul di Roo, secretary to the Dutch East-India company, was in the year 1691, told by the Aby sinian ambassador at Batavia, That Transubstantiation, and Adoration of the consecrated bread in the Eucharist, were what the Habassins abborred. They communicate standing *. They confess their fins only in general, saying, Habassea, I have finned. They deny Purgatory, and know nothing of Confirmation, nor of Extreme Unction: they condemn graven images, and keep both Saturday and Sunday, and never fast on either of them, no not in Lent. Their divine offices are all in the vulgar tongue, and are performed with extraordinary devotion, but especially their litanies. Whenever they come into any place where there is a church, let their business be ever so urgent, they repair to it immediately, but never go into church with their shoes on, nor sit down in it, unless upon the ground; on all occasions expressing a deep sense of Religion, chiefly when they visit the sick, which they are forward to do. They are charitable to the poor, and strangers, except those of the Romisto church, whom they mortally hate, because of the cruel perfecution raised by the Jesuits. The whole of their divine service consists in reading of the Scriptures, some homilies of the fathers, and in administration of the facraments, preaching being a rare exercise among them.

I come now to give a brief account of the methods the church of Rome hath used, to subject this church of Ethiopia to the Pope. In the year 1490, Caviltham a Portuguese first entered Abyssinia: in 1509, Helena grandmother to David the Precious John, wrote a letter to Emmanuel the king of Portugal, and sent Matthew her ambassador to that court. David Emperor of Ethiopia, sent other letters to the same Emanuel, and to Clement the third Pope of Rome, by Francis Alvarez

^{*} Jesuits Travels, English Edition, pag. 3.

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his envoy, a copy of which letters is in Dr. Geddes's book *, with an account of the Habassian religion and rites, writ at Lisbon in the year 1534, by the hand of Zagazaba the Ethiopian ambassador. While these things were a doing, David King of Ethiopia was involved in a cruel war, brought upon him by his new correspondence with the Portuguese, who having enlarged their trade and conquests in the East-Indies, made their name formidable over the eaftern part of the world. The Habassin, as appears by his letters, did expect nothing less by his new allies, than the utter extirpation of his infidel neighbours, Heathens and Mahometans. But they all conspired to prevent this dangerous consequence, by disabling the Habassin, before any Portuguese troops could come to his affistance. In profecution of this defign, Abamed, nick-named Granbe or Left-hand, a Mahometan prince, joined his forces with those of the King of Adel, fought and totally ruined the Habassin army; the king himself retired to the mountains, where he skulked about for two years, in which time Granbe made himself master of the best part of the empire, burning down the churches, or prophaning them by turning them into mosques. David perceiving his empire in imminent danger, dispatched John Bermudes a Portuguese, who had been feveral years in Ethiopia, to Rome, for succours to prevent the ruin of a Christian kingdom; and to render him more acceptable, he obliged Mark the Abuna, to confecrate Bermudes, then a lay-man, bishop; yea, to declare him his fuccessor in the see of Ethiopia. Bermudes arrived at Rome in the year 1538, where Pope Paul the Third allowed his orders to be valid, and confirmed his nomination to the patriarchate of Ethiopia; but left all the other expence of the fuccours to the king of Portugal, who gave only an order to the viceroy of the Indies, to fend four or five hundred musqueteers, to fuccour the King of Ethiopia. Some years passed before even these came, and in the mean time David died, and left Claudius his fuccessor, under whom the

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nom the the Ethiopian empire began a little to revive, tho' vet in great diftress. A fleet of Portuguese, about this time, touched at Matzua a port in Ethiopia, where the Habassin envoys waited on the admiral, and prevailed with him to spare them four hundred men, with a small train of artillery, to prevent the loss of their empire. These auxiliaries, under the conduct of Don Stephen du Gama, son to the famous Vasco du Gama, are faid to have performed wonders, if we credit the Portuguese historians. But at last Gama was routed, taken prisoner, and lost his head. After this the king of Ethiopia recovered strength, fights and routs his adversary Granbe, who was killed in battel. When he obtained the peaceable possession of his kingdom, he complimented the remaining Portuguese, for the kind affistance they had given him; but when they teazed him to become Roman Catholick, he came to a rupture with them, and accused them of impertinence and infolence *.

In the year 1554, Ignatius Loyola, founder of the order of the Jesuits, begged of the Pope his orders to go to Ethiopia in person, to promote the submission of that church; this being declined, he, with indefatigable diligence, procured a splendid mission of friars of his order, to be fent thither, viz. John Nunnez Barreto, a Portuguese, to go as patriarch; Andrew Oviedo a Spaniard, and Melchior Corneiro a Portuguese, as coadjutors, with ten Jesuits their companions. The Pope's bull, for confecrating the patriarch, bears date at Rome, February 17th, 1554; but by reason of some accidents, these missionaries did not arrive in Ethiopia, before March 1557. They were admitted to an audience of the emperor Claudius, with abundance of ceremony; but he continued stedfast in the Faith of the Habassin Church, neither their conferences, letters, nor even their excommunication thundered out against him +, could persuade him to submit to the Pope; at last he was slain, fighting against the Mahometans,

^{*} Geddes's Church-History of Ethiopia, pag. 145.

[†] Ibidem, pag. 197.

who had invaded his country in the year 1559. He was fucceeded by his brother Adam, who declared himfelf an irreconcileable enemy to the Church of Rome; the first act of his government, was to prohibite all Habassins whatsoever, under severe penalties, to go into the Latin Church; ordering any woman that turned papift, to be whipped, and the men to undergo fevere punishment. He gave this reason for this rigid proceedure, That tolerating popery in Ethiopia, bad cost his brother his life and empire, with a vast treasure of money, and blood. In order therefore to extirpate it, he took all the lands his brother had given the Portuguese, and even their children from them, committing them to fuch as would educate them in the Alexandrian Faith. He commanded Oviedo the coadjutor, to be thrown into prison, threatning to burn him and his Jesuits alive, if they did not give over corrupting his people with their false doctrines *. No wonder, for he found them somenting a rebellion in his country, in expectation of fuccours from Portugal. Adam was killed in battel, and fucceeded by his fon Malac-Saged, who hated the missionaries as much as his father. Oviedo, upon the news of Barreto's death at Goa, December 1562, declared himself patriarch, but this did not mend the matter. The Church of Rome finding this nominal patriarch could do them no fervice in Ethiopia, recalled him, and he died at Cremona, July 9th, 1567. Thus ended this mission, neither to the honour of the Jesuits, nor to the advantage of Ethiopia.

For many years after this, the church of Rome feems to have taken no care to profelyte the Habassian church; but upon Philip of Spain's accession to the crown of Portugal, they refumed the thoughts of it: but several of their missionary friars died on the road. At length, Peter Pays, a cunning Spanish Jesuit, steals into Ethiopia, in the year 1603; the Emperor Asnaf-Sagued invited him to court, and shewed him great savour; he charmed the Emperor, by causing two boys to repeat

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^{*} Geddes's Church-History of Ethiopia, pag. 202.

[†] Ibidem, pag. 240.

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exactly the Roman Catechism in the Habassin tongue before him: the Father was allowed to preach and celebrate mass at court, with which the emperor declared himself delighted, and told Father Peter in secret, that being now fully convinced, that the Pope was the head of the universal church, he was resolved to submit himself to him, and defire him to send a patriarch, and a competent number of friars into Ethiopia, to instruct his people in the true Faith *, and had ordered letters to the Pope, and the King of Portugal, concerning this affair. However, the Emperor being afterward killed in battel, the message was not sent. Some conceive the Jesuit was privy to the conspiracy. After some controverfy concerning the fuccessor, Suseneus conquered his adversaries, and was advanced to the throne, taking the name of Seltem-Saged. The Jesuits congratulated him, and persuaded him of the truth of Christ's two natures, chiefly by a passage in his own Haman & Aben, a book of the same nature with Bibliotheca Patrum, where it was afferted, that doctrine was believed by all the ancient doctors of the church; and, that Dioscorus patriarch of Alexandria, was the first bishop that ever denied it. Raz Cella Christos, viceroy of Goam, the Emperor's brother, a prince of great heat, was also convinced in the year 1612. Nothing would ferve him. but he would publickly declare himself a Roman Catholick, reckoning the Alexandrians, who had so grosly imposed upon him in one particular, had misled him in every point, wherein they differed from the Roman Church. Very kind letters were delivered to the Emperor from the King of Spain, and from the Pope, congratulating his accession to the throne, and thanking him for his kindness to the Friars, and exhorting him to continue devoted to the Catholick Church: that from the Pope, bears date at Rome, January 4th, 1611. The Emperor returned letters, and fent ambaffadors to these courts; but by a trick of those who adhered to the Alexandrian Faith, the envoys were stript of their equipage,

^{*} Geddes's History of Ethiopia, pag. 250. Vol. II.

equipage, and sent back the way they came *. Popery now growing fashionable, every ambitious courtier began to cares the fathers, and to call their own clergy

hypocrites and dunces.

But the country, which is feldom fond of court fashions, roared against the emperor and his brother, at a terrible rate, as bigotted papifts. The Habassin Abuna or patriarch, not being able to hinder those methods the court was taking, left it in great wrath, and thundered out an excommunication against all, not excepting the Emperor, who had or should submit themselves to the pope. This provoked the Emperor to emit a proclamation, making it death to deny there were two natures in Christ; an edict also desiring all his subjects to embrace the Roman Faith; and another ordering his fubjects to work on Saturdays. I place these together, for brevity's fake. The Emperor slighting all addresses against these measures, his people broke out into open rebellion. Tho' the rebels were defeated, and their old Abuna slain in battel, yet the Habassins continued very discontent, especially when they heard their Emperor had abjured all the Alexandrian errors to Father Peter, and made a confession of his whole life to him, who thereupon gave him abfolution, and reconciled him to the Pope +. The poor father, overcome with joy at this conversion, outlived it but a few days. All this being notified at Rome, by letters from Ethiopia, the Pope, at the folicitation of the General of the Jesuits, ordered Manuel de Almeyda as his nuncio, to go from the Indies to Ethiopia, to render thanks to the Emperor for his zeal toward the Catholick Religion, and to exhort him to persevere in fo good a work. The nuncio, with fome Friars, did arrive in Ethiopia, in the year 1629, and were kindly received at court. In this fituation of affairs, the courts of Rome and Madrid thought it high time to fend a patriarch and coadjutors to Ethiopia. Accordingly Alfonso Mendez was named patriarch, and James de Seeo, and John da Rooba, bishops of Nice and Hierapolis, his coadjutors. They

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^{*} Geddes's History of Ethiopia, pag. 299. + Ibidem, pag. 319.

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They having obtained their dispensations and bulls, were consecrated at Lishon, and sent to Goa, from which place, by letters of the Emperor of Ethiopia, and his brother, they were invited to court. To which they came (the Habassin court is a royal camp, with a great many tents) and were received with great solemnity by all the court converts. In a few days, the Emperor, his brother, and others of the court, made a formal submission to the Pope, consirmed with an oath *; and a revenue was settled on the patriarch, much greater than any of the former Abunas ever enjoyed.

The Jesuits now reckoned their work done, but the form was only gathering against them. The body of the people in Ethiopia turned impatient of fuch changes, and murdered some missionaries, for saying Roman mass +, and rose in Rebellion against the Emperor. Tho' the rebels were defeated, and the Emperor's own fon-in-law killed at their head, this did not mend the matter. For the papifts raised a cruel persecution against the whole country, who still adhered to the Alexandrian Faith; they caused a lady of quality to be hanged; others, who for conscience sake had forsaken all they had in the world, and hid themselves in caves and dens of the earth, were either ferreted out of their holes to be burnt, if they would not turn Roman Ca-These metholicks, or smoaked to death in them ||. thods inflamed the people, they wanted only an opportunity to express their displeasure, which thus offered. The Emperor's brother, Raz Cella Christos, the great patron of popery, being discovered to plot with the Jesuits, to bring in a Portuguese army into Ethiopia, in order to make himself Emperor, this set the prince, the heir apparent of the crown, on his guard, and gave a blow to the designs of the popish party.

The rash zeal of the new patriarch also hastened their ruin; he commanded the corps of an eminent Monk, who had been General of the whole order of Tecla Haymont, to be taken out of the grave where he

^{*} Geddes's History of Ethiopia, pag. 342.

⁺ Ibidem, pag. 347. | Ibidem, pag. 353;

had been buried within the church, and to be thrown into the open fields, because he declared at his death. that he died in the Alexandrian, not in the Roman Faith. The Peasants of Lasta having defeated some of the Emperor's troops, he hearkned to the advice of his fubjects fo far, as to incline to give a toleration to those of the Alexandrian Faith; which the patriarch opposed with all his might, so as no indemnity was then granted. The Peasants then in great numbers rose in open rebellion, and the Emperor marched his whole force against them, defeated them, and killed eight thousand on the spot. Next morning, when he viewed the field of battel, his grandees addressed him with tears in their eyes, faying *, "Sir, how many "dead bodies lie here? These are not the bodies of " Mahometans or Heathens, but of Christians; your "Highness's natural born subjects, our blood and "kindred. Tho' you conquer, you thrust a sword " into your own bowels. How many thousands have " been massacred? How many thousands must be, be-" fore popery can be established in Ethiopia? For "God's fake let your people alone with the Religion " of their fore-fathers, which you must either do, or " ruin the empire with your own hands." This fo moved the Emperor, as he foon emitted the following proclamation +: "Hear, Hear, we formerly gave " you the Roman Faith, believing it to be true, but " innumerable multitudes of my people having been flain " on that account, under Julius, Gergis, Cerca, Christos, " &c. as now also among the Peasants; we do there-" fore restore the Religion of your fore-fathers to " you, so that your priests are to take possession of " your churches again, and officiate therein as for-" merly." This proclamation was received with inexpressible joy; every body declared themselves of the Alexandrian Faith, even the new converts to popery, threw their beads and reliques into the bonefires.

The Emperor died the latter end of that year, and his fon Facilidas or Basilides, was proclaimed his suc-

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^{*} Geddes's History, pag. 383.

⁺ Ibidem, pag. 394.

Chap. 7. Of the Church of Abyssinia. ceffor; he fent for the patriarch, and all the popish fathers, and banished them all to Fremona, and thence to the Indies. While they staid in Ethiopia, they endured a thousand hardships, narrated by Dr. Geddes. In the year 1634, they were transported to Dio in the East-Indies *. Four of the fathers, who were found afterward lurking in the country, were hanged †. The college at Rome, for propagating the Faith, did not think fit to fend any more Jesuits from Portugal into Ethiopia, but named fix French Capuchins to go thither: two of them were murdered by the Cafres; two passed into Egypt, and having got into the kingdom of Tigre, by the way of Matzua, in the habit of merchants, as foon as they were discovered to be popish priefts, they were put to death; the Emperor having by a law required any who discovered popish missionaries, immediately to kill them, without troubling the court any more with them. Two Italian Capuchins, with one French man, remaining alive of the former mission, came to Suaquhem in the year 1646, wrote to the Emperor of Ethiopia, to permit them to come and preach in his dominions, they being of the fame Faith with himself; he returned them no answer, only wrote to the Bashaw of Suaqubem, To ease bim of these, and of all the Friars that should come into his port at any time, for he could not have one day's quiet from them in bis kingdom; complaining, That the' he had rooted out all the Portuguese, a new set of people were come to disturb him, upon new pretences. The Bashaw, glad of an occasion to gratify the Habassin Emperor, caused the three Friars to be put to death, and fent him their heads; and the Emperor, as a present, returned him three bags of gold dust, promising him as many bags

of Roman Friars.

After this, Bafilides having, by a total extirpation of popery out of his empire, quieted the minds of his fubiects

of fuch dust, as he should at any time send him heads

^{*} Geddes's History, pag. 433. † Ibidem, pag. 446.

jects, set about recovering the provinces his insidel neighbours had, during the Habassin broils about Religion, tore from his predecessors, and was so prosperous in his wars, as to regain most of them. If Morad the Ethiopian ambassador, did not stretch his narrative, Bassides extended his empire northward, to the confines of Nubia, and southward to Hadea; the people of which kingdom were converted by him to the Christian Faith, He reigned 32 years, and was succeeded by his son Adlas-Saged, in the year 1665, who was succeeded by his son Jaso Acdan-Saged, in the year 1681. He that desires to know more of Ethiopia, may read Ludolphus and Dr. Geddes's histories of that country.

The travels of the Jesuits in Ethiopia, by father Balthasar Telles, has the substance of this whole affair; tho' they may differ in some circumstances, yet in my opinion, they confirm the account we have given already from Dr. Geddes: these travels are translated into English, and printed in 1710. There is an edition of the Jesuits Letters, at Paris, in ten volumes; the fourth of these wholly concerns Ethiopia. Father Brevedent, and Monf, Ponret, a physician, designed to go into that country, but the former died on the way; the phyfician only accomplished his voyage to the court of the king of Ethiopia, and returned; his travels were from the year 1698, to 1700: there is nothing in them that contradicts the narrative I have given from Dr. Geddes, nor any appearance of that church ever submitting to the fee of Rome; he gives this evidence of the great numbers of the Ethiopian Clergy *, That at one ordination, the patriarch ordained ten thousand priests, and six thousand deacons.

To this day the Habassins continue in the same irreconcileable hatred to the church of Rome; for the publick letters from Madrid, of June 30th, 1720, say, We have received an account, that Father Laberat Vaiz a German, Michael Pio de Cervo, and Samuel de Biuno, natives of the Milaneze, monks of the order of St. Francis, who, after having escaped many perils, were arrived in Ethiopia. lich Go and they Fai moj give dear nica at t

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Lettres Edifiantes du Recueil 4. pag. 81.

Chap.7. Present State of Heathens in Africa. 199
Ethiopia, with a design to convert to the Roman Catholick Faith, the natives of that country, were arrived at Gondar, and carried before the king, the metropolitan, and the chief men both of the clergy and state, by whom they were sentenced to die, unless they would abjure the Faith of the council of Chalcedon; which, with the utmost constancy, they refused to do, whereupon they were given up to the fury of the people, who stoned them to death; the metropolitan having threatned to excommunicate every one who should cast less than seven stones at them.

We have been perhaps long enough on the church of Ethiopia, let us now take a view of the state of

Paganism in Africa.

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Tho' Ethiopia the higher be Christian, as is related, yet a great part of Africa is under black, heathenish darkness. The large country of Guinea, lying within the torrid zone, is inhabited by Negroes; their Religion, if it may be fo called, is Paganism. They greet the new-moon with horrible roarings, and strange geftures of adoration; they offer their facrifices in the woods, before great hollow-trees, wherein their idols are placed; yet this they do rather out of custom than zeal, using neither form nor method in their devotion: every one making a God after their own fancy *. They believe, when people die, they go into another world, and will have occasion for many of the same things they use here, and therefore put part of their houshold stuff into the grave with the dead corps; and if they lole any thing, they imagine their friends in the other world had need of it, and have taken it away. have no letters nor books, yet keep Tuesday for a sabbath, forbearing then their fishing and husbandry, and in the midst of the market-place they place a table on four pillars, about three yards high, whose flat cover is made of straw and reeds woven together, upon which they place many straw-rings called Fetissoës

^{*} English Acquisitions on the Coast of Guinea, pag. 17. and following.

Present State of Heathens in Africa.

or Gods, and within them fet wheat, water and oil for their God, who they imagine devours it. Their priest they call Fetissero, who every festival day places a feat on that table, and preaches to the people; but what his doctrine is, the Europeans cannot understand. After this, the women offer him their infants, whom he sprinkles with water, wherein a living fnake fwims; with the fame he fprinkles the table, then uttering certain words very loud, and stroaking the children with some kind of colours, as if giving them his bleffing, he himself drinks of the water, the people clapping their hands and crying, Jou, Jou, and so he dismisseth the assembly. Many of the Negroes wear fuch straw-rings next their bodies, to preserve them from the mischief which their angry Gods might inflict upon them, in honour of whom they daub themselves with a kind of chalky earth, which is their morning prayer. At their eating, the first bit and the first draught is consecrated to their Fetissio. When the king facrifices to his Fetissio, he commands his priest or Fetissero to enquire of a tree, to which he afcribes divinity, what he will demand: the priest daubs a branch of the tree with ashes and water, and pretends the Demon answers the king's questions. The nobility likewise adore certain trees, esteeming them oracles, and report, the devil appears to them fometimes as a black dog, at other times answers them without any visible apparition. Some worship a bird called Pittoie, spotted as it were with stars, resembling the voice of a bull; to hear this bird lowe in their journey is reckoned a good omen, and therefore they fet a veffel of water and wheat in the place where they Yea, they canonize certain fishes, as the Tunny. The very mountains are not without honour; if they did not pacify their anger by prefents of meat and drink, they believe they would bend their fullen brows, and overwhelm the earth. When it thunders, rains hard, or the wind blows ftrong, there is not one of them to be feen in the streets, all hide themselves in their houses, and cry, The Gods of the whites are angry. The devil is fo dreadful to them, they tremble at naming

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Chap. 7. Present State of Heathens in Africa. 201 him, and fay, He beats them and makes them do evil things. They make great lamentations, with odd ceremonies, upon the death of their friends. If the king dies, greater folemnity is used; his nobles thinking fo great a person ought to have attendants, one offers him a fervant, another his wife, a third his fon or daughter. even many of both fexes to wait upon him, who are all fuddenly flain, and their bloody carcaffes buried with him *; yea, the king's wives who loved him best refuse not this last service, but are willing to die, that they may again live with him. The heads of the flain are fet upon poles round the fepulchre, meat, drink, cloaths, and arms are buried with them. The Negroes have as many wives as they can maintain, but the first has the preheminence, her husband can never take another but by her permission +; but because multitudes of wives and children are counted the greatest honour and riches in that country, they often perfuade their husbands to take more, and glory therein.

Near Cape Miserado, the people believe the God whom they call Kanno, will punish all their misdeeds, and reward the well-doers; and therefore, when oppressed, call for his aid to do them justice ||. They imagine, their friends, after their death, become spirits, whom they call Jannanen, and know all transactions here below, and therefore they entertain familiar colloquies with them, acquainting them with all their adversities. When they go to hunt in the woods elephants, busfaloes, or upon any other dangerous enterprize, they go first and offer to the spirit of their deceased parents a cow, wine, or rice, which they leave on the grave. The king calls upon the souls of his father and mother,

almost in every matter of difficulty.

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The great country of Nigritia, or the land of the Blacks, lies from the 11th to the 23d degree north latitude, and in breadth from the 6th to the 50th degree of longitude; its inhabitants are generally Pagan Idolaters, some Mahometans are among them: those

^{*} English Acquisitions in Guinea, pag. 23.

[†] Ibidem, pag. 6, || Ibidem, pag. 29.

Present State of Heathens in Africa.

who inhabit the defarts have little either of religion or laws; in some few places there are old Christians,

tho' much corrupted.

In the Lower Ethiopia, which from fouth to north extends 54 leagues, and from east to west 120 *; their Religion confifts of foolish, heathenish superstition, they invocate domestick and field Demons, and have little or no knowledge of God; the same may be

faid of the people of Calingo and Goy.

In Ansico and Jagos the sun is their God, whom they represent under the figure of a man, and the moon of a woman; they adore also a number of false Deities, whom they confult in all their undertakings. Some authors fay +, That the people called Jagos, have publick shambles, where they buy man's flesh for food, that the fathers eat the son's, and the son the father's flesh, without borror! their bellies are the living graves where they bury the dead. They wander like Arabians from place to place, armed with an ax, a bow and arrows, living only by theft and flaughter; they are spread almost thro' all Africa, but the most part of them make incursions into the kingdom of Ansico.

I shall discourse more fully of the kingdoms of Congo and Angola in the following chapter; and therefore shall only here remark, that the inhabitants of these places, before the Portuguese entred their country, were idolaters, every one worshipped what he pleased for his God, fo as some adore serpents, vipers, dragons, tygers, herbs and trees; they fall down flat on their faces before their idols. The Portuguese promoted Christianity there, according to the doctrine of the church of Rome, but the inhabitants were never good

Christians, rather real hypocrites.

Cafreria, or the coast of Caftares, reaches from the kingdom of Maiaman, as far as the Cape of Good Hope, and then ascends northward as far as the coasts of Zanguebar, encompassing the empires of Monemugi and Monomotapa, except on the north-fide of them; the inhabi-

* Thefaurus Geographicus, pag. 461.

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⁺ Great Historical Dictionary on the Word Jagos.

Chap. 7. Present State of Heathens in Africa. 203 inhabitants are called Hottentots, they live in great ignorance, but begin to get a little more understanding by their commerce with the Europeans; there are some remainders of natural light among them; their love to each other, their fidelity, and contempt of riches. may make Christians ashamed *. They are seldom guilty of any extravagance or theft, unless they be drunk with eating the root Daha, or are in extreme poverty. As for their Religion, they acknowledge a fupreme Being, which governs the winds, rain, feafons, heat, and cold; but do not think themselves obliged to worship him. Some of them give a kind of worship to the moon. Some part of the eastern-coast toward Sosola are Mahometans, and some few of them profess Christianity, by the influence of the Dutch and Por-

tuguese who refort among them.

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Mr. Burton gives us an odd account of the people of the bay of Soldania, near the Cape of Good Hofe, which is a part of the country of the Caftares or Cafres. He fays *, nor do other authors contradict his report, That they expose their old people when they grow decrepit and troublesome, to be devoured by wild beasts, of which there are many in that country; that their speech seems rather an inarticulate noise, like the gabbling of turkies, than a language. Their habits are sheep skins undressed, thonged together, which cover their bodies to the middle, with a little flap of the same tied before them, being naked downwards; when 'tis cold, they put the wool, and when bot, the fleshy part of these skins next their body. Their ornaments or jewels, are bullocks or sheeps guts full of excrements about their necks; when they are hungry, they sit down upon some billock, first shaking some of that filthy pudding out of the guts about their neck, then bowing down their mouths to their hands, almost as low as their knees; like bungry dags, they gnaw and eat the raw guts.-The women are habited and dieted in the same manner; both sexes make coverings for their heads of cows dung mingled with stinking grease, they besmear their faces with it,

^{*} Thesaurus Geographicus, pag. 465. † English Acquisitions, pag. 139, &c.

it, which makes their company insufferable; and yet any of these people, weary of the best entertainment England could afford, would long to return to wallow in their own puddle. They sell to English, Dutch, and to ships of other nations, bullocks and cows for pieces of brass and tobacco, of which we have frequent accounts in Mr. Harris's complete Collection of Voyages and Travels,

The kingdom of Monomotapa is bounded on the west, south and east with the coast of Cafrerie, on the north with the mountains of the Moon, and in the north-east with Sosola and Monemugi; its extent from fouth to north is about 300 leagues, and from west to east about 240. The Emperor is an absolute prince, his subjects pay him great reverence. As to Religion, they are most of them heathen idolaters, they call the supreme God Mazin Ottuno, and believe him the creator of the world; they make a feast on the first day they fee the new moon, and upon the Emperor's nativity; they honour a virgin they call Paris *, and have convents of women. The Portuguese alledge, they have converted a number of these people, that above 300 of them were baptized in the year 1560, by Gonfalvez Sylveira a Jesuit; but the inconstant Emperor being persuaded by the Turks, that Sylveira was a magician †, he caused him to be beheaded; but repenting foon of this fact, he censured the Turks with the same punishment for their calumnies.

The empire of Monemugi is on the fouth of Abyssinia, and on the north of Monomotapa; it contains part of the mountains of the Moon; the inhabitants are of great stature, they clothe themselves with silk and cotton, which they buy of foreign merchants; the ma-

jority of them are heathen idolaters.

In the coasts of Zanguebar, the inhabitants are Heathens or Mahometans, following the doctrine of Zayd the nephew of Haly. Some Christians have settled themselves in the forts built near the sea by the Portuguese. The coasts of Ajan and Abex are Mahometans:

* Thefaurus Geographicus, pag. 467.

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⁺ Great Hist. Dictionary on the Word Monomotapa.

Chap. 7.

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As to the islands of Africa, Zocotara lies near the straits of Babelmandel, at the entry to the Red-Sea; the natives were for most part idolaters, worshipping the moon, which they believed to be queen of all things *, but now their Religion is Mahometan, and they suffer no other +; they are under a king, who is tributary to the Cherif of Mecca.

The isle of Madagascar is one of the biggest in the world; the French call it Daupbine, the Portuguese St. Lawrence, because discovered by them on a day dedicated to that faint. It is fituated between Zanguebar and Cafrerie, it extends from 11 degrees 50 minutes, to 23 degrees 30 minutes fouth latitude, and is from fouth-west to north-east 300 leagues, but not above 50 leagues in breadth. The natives are heathens, they believe in one God the creator of heaven and earth, who rewards the good, and punishes the bad; they own there are good and evil Angels, and are mightily afraid of the devil, pouring out the first of their meat and drink on the ground as a facrifice to appeale him; their priefts are usually magicians, who teach them spells and charms to prevent mischief from the devil ||. They live in hoards like the Tartars, under one chief, whom they call Tschich, which authority is oftentimes usurped by him who is most powerful. The provinces are governed by petty princes or grandees, and the people are divided into feveral ranks. Their language and writings refembles the Arabick; their paper is yellow and very smooth, made of the inner rind of a tree; their ink is a fort of gum, and their pens made of cane. Francis Gauche of Rouen, who staid in that island several years, fays t, He could not discover any Religion these people had, there being no temple among them, and he never saw them pray, or call on any God, or worship any statue;

^{*} Thesaurus Geographicus, pag. 470.

⁺ Geographical Dictionary, Edition 1694, on Zocotara.

Ibid. on Madagascar.

[‡] Voyage to Madagascar, by Francis Gauche, pag. 51. in a Collection of Voyages in 4to. printed 1711.

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yet when he asked them, they said, they knew there was a devil, by them called Tayrraddey, who causes diseases and barrenness, and a God that killed them; so that the latter was more to be seared than the former. That all men went indifferently to heaven after death. He apprehends Mahometanism is creeping in among them, and discourses at large of their rites, divorces, burials, and sacrifices.

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As to the other isles of Africa, as the isles of Cape Verd, the Canaries or Fortunate Islands, and the Maderas, these are all inhabited by Roman Catholicks; and 'tis not my province now to discourse of their rites. The most remarkable African island in the Mediterranean sea is Malta, the habitation of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, all Papists; and therefore I pass them, and go to the other side of the world.

Before I enter upon the state of Paganism in America, there are some things concerning this hemisphere of the terraqueous globe, which deserve our enquiry and observation.

This new world then was first discovered to us in Europe, in the year of our Lord 1492, by Christopher Columbus a Genoese, and in 1497 by Americus Vesputius a Florentine. The story of these great navigators is so

well known, that I need not infift upon it.

The question, How this vast country came to be first inhabited? is of greater moment. Those who defire to see large treatises upon this subject, may consult the authors named at the foot of the page *. It is enough to our purpose to take notice, that in this vast tract of land, when discovered by Europeans, there was a multitude of inhabitants, whose ancestors came thither by sea, or by land, of design, or by chance: it is not needful peremptorily to determine from what part of the world they came; there are many mysteries, both in the works of nature and providence, that

^{*} Joannis de Laet Antuerpiani Notas ad Dissertationem Hugonis Grotii de Origine Gentium Americanarum. Hornius de Origine Gentium Americanarum. Acosta's History of the Indies, Book 1

Chap.7. Present State of Heathens in America. 207 we cannot distinctly unfold. 'Tis sufficient for us to affert, that it is probable they might come thither either from China, Japan, or some part of Tartary.

It is certain, that the Chinese had the knowledge of the arts of Navigation, of Printing, and of Guns, tho' we won't affirm foon after the Babylonish confusion of languages, yet long before us in Europe. 'Tis no way then incredible, that fuch a numerous knowing people should fend out colonies, who might gradually replenish another part of the world. Mr. Harris, in his introduction to his Navigantium atque Itinerantium Bibliotheca, or, complete Collection of Travels, has a learned differtation concerning the peopling of America *, where he feems to make it pretty probable, that the more polite people of America in Mexico and Peru, came from China and Japan in ships. Thus he observes +, That the City of Zintzonta in Mexico is a Chinese word; that at the time of the Spanish Conquest, the Yncas of Peru did not boast of an original above 400 years; before this, they fay, they were barbarous, lived wild in the woods, eat men's flesh, &c. 'till one Manco came to them from their father the sun, and taught them a better and a more civilized way of life. Now, 'tis probable, he came from China, because the architecture of the Yncas in Peru, and all their mighty buildings and towers are after the Chinese manner, and their cities are vastly great like those in China. The account of the Mexicans reaches not above 300 years backwards. Now, since we learn from P. Venetus, and with a little variation of time from the annals of Gonsalo Mendoza, that about the year of Christ 1268, the Chinese being driven out of their country by the invasion of the Tartars, fled into certain remote islands, and there remained; 'tis very likely they went then into America.

As to Tartary, the most industrious navigators have never as yet been able to sail from the North round the Eastern parts of that country. If any corner of Tartary be joined to some part of America, or very

† Ibidem, pag. 17.

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^{*} Harris's Introduction, in Folio, from pag. 8-18.

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near, it is not yet discovered. If it be not joined, certainly some of the Eastern coasts of Tartary are very near America; people then might transport themselves, and also some part of their cattle, from the one into the other, which, by a great fruitfulness in these early ages, might overspread and replenish that whole hemisphere of the world. Tho' the history of this event be not on record, yet this is a probable account, which is all we design. Dr. Heylin further observes, that the idolatry of the people of America, and the particular forms thereof, their incivility, and barbarous qualities, tell us, that they are more like the Tartars than any other people*. Those of Quivira, which of all the provinces in America is the nearest to Tartary, are said to follow, in their whole course of life, the seasons and best pasturing of their cattle, just like the Scythian Nomades, or Tartarian hoards; which is one argument of their original descent.

Some authors contend, that America was not altogether unknown to the ancients; that the Phenicians or Carthaginians had fome knowledge of it; but the small skill they had in navigation, made them entertain no commerce therewith. Some conceive, that Seneca the tragedian speaks of it in his Medea +, and Plato in his Timæus, when he brings in the Egyptian priests, telling Solon, that there was heretofore beyond Hercules's Pillars, an island called Atlantis, larger than all Asia and Africa, which was overflowed by a terrible earthquake. But these authorities do not convince me that the ancients had any knowledge of America, otherwise they had spoken of it in plainer terms. Neither Greeks nor Romans, nor we in Europe seem to have had any knowledge of it, before the discovery made thereof by the navigators, in the

end of the fifteenth Century.

* Heylin's Cosmography, in Folio, Book IV. page 100.

Tiphysque novos detegat Orbes, Nec sit Terris ultima Thule.

⁺ Senecæ Medea, Lin. 375, & feq. Venient annis fæcula feris, Quibus Oceanus vincula rerum Laxet, & ingens pateat Tellus,

Chap. 7. Present State of Heathens in America. 209

The learned Witsius has two discourses on this subject, If the Gospel was preached by the Apostles, or by their immediate successors, to America? In the sirst of these, he uses all the arguments can be advanced for the affirmative; in the second, he answers these, and demonstrates, that none of the Apostles, or their immediate successors, set their foot in America. In my humble opinion, there is no evidence that the Gospel was ever preached in America, before the colonies from Europe went thither in the end of the sisteenth, and beginning of the sixteenth Century, and more especially by some colonies from England long after that time.

Since it has pleased a sovereign and just God, that these vast countries have remained for so many ages under heathenish darkness, 'tis my present business to set in a plain light their sad condition, that Christians may be excited to labour more diligently for their conversion. When the Spaniards first discovered this new world, the natives were all heathens, yet meek, peaceable, and capable of instruction. But the cruelty of the Spaniards, related by Bartholomew de las Casas, bishop of Chiapa, which we shall touch in the last chapter of this history, gave them such bad impressions of Christianity, as did very much hinder their conversion.

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A short account of the heathenish superstitions of the natives in America, may suffice at present, being sensible this essay has swelled under my hand, far beyond my first design. To begin with the North; Canada, called also New France, where the samous Mississippi colony is situate, extends from South to North about four hundred and forty leagues, from the 30th degree to the 54th of North Latitude, and from the East to the West it runs six hundred and eighty leagues. The natives, who have any kind of religion, believe the immortality of the soul, and that there is a place of pleasure in the other world, where the dead live with their friends;

^{*} Hermanni Witsii Exercitationum Academicarum duodecas, Ultrajecti 1694. à pag. 1. ad pag. 119. Vol. II.

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they are very revengeful, and exercise extraordinary cruelty upon their enemies; they are also treacherous, so as there is no trusting their promises, most of them living without law or religion. They have many magicians and witches, whom they call Pillotoas*, who they pretend speak familiarly with the devil, and receive from him knowledge of things to come. They use to sing the devil's praises, dance about fires, and leap over them to his honour. They bemoan the dead a great while, and bring presents to their graves.

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Father Lewis Hennepin, a Franciscan from France, with Monsieur de Laval, afterward bishop of Quebeck, the capital city of Canada, did go to the French plantations in America, in the year 1678; Monsieur Hennepin has wrote an account of things remarkable in their travels, which I have feen printed in a book by itself, under this title, A new Discovery of a large Country in Northern America, extending above four thousand miles, &c. It is also printed in Mr. Harris's complete Collection of Voyages and Travels, now before me +: he describes the Iroquoise as a very wicked and cruel people, who torment and murder the prisoners they take, yea, fealt upon their bodies; but if they fmoak with you in the Calumet of peace, then you are in no danger. This Calumet is a large tobacco-pipe, of a red, black, or white marble, the head finely polished, the quill commonly two foot and a half long, made of a ftrong reed or cane, adorned with feathers of all colours, interlaced with locks of women's hair. I shall afterward observe what this author advances concerning the propagation of Christianity in Canada. Mean time I leave that country, and go to

New England, which is adjacent to Canada, and is fituate betwixt the 41ft and 44th degree of North Latitude, in the Temperate Zone. I shall have occasion in the following chapter, to give account of the idolatrous customs and rites of the Indians, when I explain the fuccessful endeavours of the English colony in that coun-

^{*} Great Historical Dictionary on the Word Canada.

⁺ Harris's complete Collection of Travels, Vol. II. pag. 906, 66

Chap. 7. Present State of Heathens in America. 211 try, for the conversion of these natives, and therefore

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Virginia, which is fo called, in honour of Queen Elizabeth; it was first discovered by John Verudzzan, and afterward more fully by Sir Walter Raleigh, in the year 1584, by whose direction the Queen sent a colony thither. In Mr. Harris's complete Collection of Travels, we have several particular narratives of the first English planters in Virginia*, with the feveral difficulties they had to debate with; but my subject restrains me to the state of the heathens in these places. The native Indians in Virginia then, are idolaters, believing there are feveral Gods of different orders, subject to one eternal Being; they hold the fun, moon, and ftars are demigods, calling their temples Machicomuck, their priefts Viroances, the chief of their Gods Keuras, and the inferior Keurasavoch: But they have a particular veneration for a certain God called Okee, who, as they fay, often appears to them, and discovers his will, answering questions put to him, about hunting, journeying, and the like. They offer to him the first fruits of all things every year, maintaining they cannot expect good luck, but by fo doing. They account the God of the English better than theirs, because he often beats them; their priefts are generally thought conjurers, for in a time of drought, they pretend by their Powawing to bring abundance of rain +. Some authors tell us, that much of their devotion confifts in howling and dancing about fires, with rattles, or gourd, or pompion rinds in their hands, beating the ground with stones, and offering tobacco, deers greafe, and blood on their stone altars. They undertake no matter of consequence, without advice of their priefts, the chief whereof is adorned with feathers and weafel tails, and his face painted ugly as devils. Inftead of faying grace at meat, they fling the first bit into the fire; when they would appeale a storm, they cast tobacco into the water; iometimes they facrifice children to the devil.

P 2 Florida

^{*} Harris's Collection, Vol. I. pag. 815, to 848. † Hackluit, Purchas, Ross's Paniebeia, pag. 104.

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Florida is adjacent to Virginia and Carolina; Sebastian Cabot discovered it in the year 1496, upon the account of Henry VII. king of England, but he only took a flight view of the country. Frances Ribault, in the name of Charles IX. king of France, made a league with the inhabitants in the year 1562, and built Charles-Fort. But the Spaniards, in the night-time, furprized the French, and murdered most of their foldiers. The natives are heathens; they have a great veneration for the fun and moon, and pay great respect to their priefts, who are also their physicians *; but inflead of letting blood, as we do, fuck the blood out of their patients. They are magicians, and inchant the people by their witchcraft. Charles V. fent several monks and friars to try whether they could tame those favages, but the infidels cut their throats +. The natives have a kind of friendship for the English, and are ready upon all occasions to serve them; they worship one God, as Creator of all things, whom they call Okee: their high priefts offer facrifice to him, but they believe he minds not human affairs himself, but commits the government of them to leffer deities; they believe the transmigration of souls, and happiness after death. The English among them enjoy a liberty of conscience, by the constitution of their government.

New Mexico is a large country, lying to the West of Florida; it is not yet fully discovered, the fome parts thereof have been possessed by the Spaniards, since the There are some of the natives, who year 1583 |. worship the fun and moon, and carry meat to their idols to eat, which they have fet in little chapels;

others of them have scarce any religion t.

California lies to the West of New Mexico, it extends near feven hundred leagues from North to South, it was commonly believed to be an island, but near the end of the fifth volume of the Jesuits Letters, printed at Paris,

Historical Dictionary, on New Mexico. + Thef. Geog. pag. 483.

^{*} Thef. Geog. pag. 482. + Historical Dictionary, on the Word Florida.

Chap. 7. Present State of Heathens in America. 213 I find a memorial * presented to the council of Guadalaxara in Mexico, on the tenth of February 1702, translated from the Spanish; and the Jesuit Gobien, in his preface to that volume, tells us, that the missionaries found that great country of California, to be separate only from New Mexico, by the waters of a river. The

inhabitants are heathen idolaters.

Mexico, or New Spain, is a rich country, which was anciently governed by elective kings of their own, of whom there is some history on record, for four or five hundred years. They were so powerful, as to be able to fend three or four hundred thousand fighting men into the field. The last of these kings was Montezuma the Second. Ferdinand Cortez, with a small army of Spaniards, having got the affistance of a body of the natives, conquered this kingdom in the name of the king of Spain, in less than four years, viz. from 1518, to 1521. The noise of his artillery made them believe him to be a God, but the cruelty of the Spaniards shewed they were worse than men †: They took,

burned, and fack'd the rich city of Mexico.

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The natives were all idolaters, they worshipped many idols, but three principally; the first of these was called Vitziliputzli, placed in an azure-coloured chair, with fnakes heads at each corner; on his head were rich plumes of feathers with gold; in his left hand a white target, in his right a staff, at his side four darts. Near to this idol, stood a pillar of less work and beauty, on which was another idol called Toloc; perhaps by this they meant the moon, and by the former the fun. They had a third idol of black stone, with four darts in his right hand, looking angry like; this, as the rest, was adorned with gold and jewels. In Cholula they worshipped a God of wealth or merchan-They had also an idol of paste or dough, consecrated, or made every year, to which, rich presents were brought, and stuck in the paste; sometimes they adored captives, and afterwards facrificed

^{*} Lettres Edifiantes & Curieuses, &c. Recueil 5. pag. 248. + Hist. Dict. on Mexico, or New Spain.

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them*. They had a chief priest, whose habit was a crown of rich feathers, on his head pendants of gold, with green stones at his ears, and under his lips an azure stone; his office was to receive the body of the dead king at the temple door, with a mournful song, to open the breast of the sacrificed man, to pull out his heart, to offer it to the sun, and then cast it to the idol, to which the man was facrificed, the inferior priests holding the legs, arms, and head of the sacrificed wretch, while the heart was taking out; the priest's office was also to burn incense before their idols. The revenues of the priests were great, and their temples, in state, wealth and magnificence, did even

exceed the popish churches in Europe.

Cholula, before the arrival of the Spaniards, had twenty thousand inhabitants, and three hundred and fixty-five temples, in which they facrificed every year five or fix thousand children to their idols †. How dreadful is that inhumanity and barbarity that the enemy of mankind did drive the blinded heathens to! In Mexico were above two thousand false deities or idols, every one of them having a particular way of adoration, and a diffinct order of priests ||. Each twentieth day, being the last of their month, was holy, and then men were facrificed. At the first appearance of green corn, children were offered up, when the com was a foot above the ground, and again when it was two foot high, holy days were kept, and more children butchered. In a festival which the Mexicans observed in their canoes upon the lake, a boy and a girl were drowned, to keep company with the Gods of the lake. But I am weary of rehearling these heathenish abominations; what an invaluable mercy is it, that we, by divine revelation, are delivered from them, and directed to ferve the Lord our God? who is of infinite mercy, goodness and compassion to his people, who doth not require the fruit of our body for the finot

^{*} Acosta's History of the Indies, lib. 5. chap. 9.

[†] Ibidem, lib. 5. c. 20, 21.

History of America, printed at London 1705, pag. 535.

Chap. 7. Prefent State of Heathens in America. 215 our foul; but that we should do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with our God, who is reconciled to us,

thro' his own fon, our bleffed Redeemer.

Having taken a view of the idolatrous rites of the natives, in most parts of the continent of North America, I might also enquire into the superstition of the islands, as Jamaica, St. Christopher's, Nevis or Mevis, Bermudas, Cuba, Tabago, Hispaniola, Newfoundland, St. Vincent's, &c. To infift on the civil or natural history and rarities of these places, is not my business; this is done by many writers of Geography and Travels. many of these isles, the natives are either destroyed or fled, and the inhabitants now, are for the most part Christians, of several denominations, from Europe, and Negroes bought with money from Afric. As to the remaining natives, most of their superstitious rites agree with those we have already discoursed of in Virginia,

Florida, Canada, &c.

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Monf. l'Abbe Bellegarde fays *, That in Hispaniola, the Indians adore the sun and moon, and mingle a great many heathenish ceremonies with their worship; they hold a first, eternal and omnipotent Principle, to whom they give two names, Mamona and Guamono-coa; they say their God has a mother, who has five names, viz. Attabeira, Mamona, Guacavirita, Siella and Guinazona. This God, they also hold, has many messengers, called Cemis, and every Cacique has one of these assigned him by a special privilege. They believe he appears only in the night, and reveals to the Cacique a thousand secrets; that he is of the colour of cotton dyed black, and throws out fire at his mouth, and his feet, fay they, are like those of black serpents. When the Indians go abroad to fight their enemies, they always have one of these little figures fastned to their foreheads, believing, that, by their assistance, they shall surely gain the victory. They demand rain of them, and fair weather, as occasions require. When the Cemis appears by chance in the woods, or elsewhere, the Indians have always a particular veneration for the places where they saw them. When they have a mind to be informed of the P 4

^{*} Complete Collection of Voyages to America, page m. 270, 274.

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the success of any particular and important affair, the chief of their Caciques enters a fort of temple dedicated to these Cemis, where a certain drink is presented to him. made of an berb which the Indians call Chohobba; this drink be snuffs up at his nose, which be has no sooner done, than he becomes mad for a time, the house seems to turn round with him, and the people to walk on their heads; in a word, he knows not what he does or says. As soon as these fumes begin a little to abate, be sets bimself down on the ground, with his hands and head upon his knees, and after continuing a while thus, as if awakened from his fleep, lifts up his eyes to heaven, muttering some words, which no body understands. The principal people of the country standing round the Cacique, while this ceremony is performed, give thanks to the Cemis, for restoring him to his senses. When they begin to enquire what he has seen, he answers gravely, the Cemi bas spoke and promised him wistory, if the question be about fighting; or has promised bim success and direction, according to the matter proposed. The Indians believe these Cemis have converse with their wives. Since the Christians have been in possession of Hispaniola, these Cemis have disappeared, and their delusion ceased. The Indians conclude thence, that their country shall devolve to another dominion, and their Caciques be subject to a more powerful lord.

The fame author relates many odd opinions of thele pagan Indians, how the earth came to be peopled, of the origin of the sea, of the dead, and others of that kind, which I pass. In the same book he says, there are to this day in the Indies, men-eaters, who feed upon human flesh; who facrifice men, as formerly the people of Thrace offered their strangers to their false Deities. The favages inhabiting the continent of the Indies, called Chorotegas or Caribes, wage war with their neighbours, chiefly for the benefit of taking prisoners, whom they devour. They are a generation without the least fense of humanity, much less of pity, who differ from wild beafts only in outward shape. They shew not the least symptoms of any good inclinations, even such of them as have been taken in their infancy, and educated Chap.7. Present State of Heathers in America. 217 cated among the Christians, return in time to their vicious disposition. They are so much addicted to cruelty and venery, that 'tis next to impossible to make them desist or leave it off. I know Dampier and some other travellers say, they never met with Anthropophagi, Cannibals or Man-eaters, so far as they went; but this does not make the relations of others altogether salse.

I now proceed to South America, where in the first place we meet with Peru, a vast continent, running along the Pacific sea, and giving the name of Peruvian to the whole of South America. It lies almost all between the Equator and Tropic of Capricorn. Pizzaro a Spaniard, made a discovery thereof in the year 1525, and subdued it. Gemelli Careri, a late ingenious traveller, who viewed many parts of the world *, fays +, Pizzaro did not find fo great difficulty in Peru, as Cortez did in Mexico. Having mentioned the name of this traveller, I shall observe, that in his fixth tome, he has feveral things that are curious, concerning Mexico, which lie not in my road, only he infifts long upon their horrible human facrifices, and fays ||, That their King Ahuitzol, when he consecrated the temple of Huitzilopochtli, in the year 1486, during the space of four days, caused to be sacrificed 64080 men. And tho', fince the conquest of the Spaniards, this abominable cruelty be banished out of their cities, Yet to this day, 'tis practifed by some of the Indians in the mountains.

To return to Pizzaro, he caused the King Atabalipa to be strangled, contrary to the promise had been given him. The unsatiable desire of Gold, moved the Spaniards to murder the Indians in a most barbarous manner. They have now that rich country in posses-

* His Travels are translated from Italian into French, and printed at Paris, in the year 1719, under this Title, Voyage du Tour du

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[†] Tome Sixieme, pag. 285.

I Ibidem, pag. 51, 52.

⁺ Ibidem, pag. 80. .

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fion; a viceroy, and several episcopal cities erected in it. The Peruvians are more civilized than most of the other Indians in America; they adore the fun, but believe there is another God above him, whom they call Pachacamac; their country is very fruitful in gold mines, fo as it was observed, at the arrival of Pizzaro, their very kitchin-pots and utenfils were made of gold, and their houses covered with the same metal; which may be eafily believed, if we confider the fingle mines of Potofi, whence the Kings of Spain, in less than fifty years, for their fifth part, got above 111 millions weight, each weight confifting of thirteen Reals and a

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Garcilasso de la Vega, has writ his Royal Commentaries of Peru, containing the history of the Yncas and many other curiofities, in Folio; the book is extant in Latin, and also translated into English, by Sir Paul Rycaut. According to that author, the Yncas reigned about 400 years, before the Spaniards made themselves masters of the country, viz. from 1125, to 1525, but tis not my province to give a deduction of their history. The royal edifices which the Yncas built, were very fumptuous structures. The chief temple of the fun, and the palace of the Yncas at Cusco, were most magnificent, the walls of the palace being overlaid with plates of gold, embellished with divers figures of men, and other animals. The royal throne, which they called Tyana, was all of maffy gold, upon an estrade of gold; all the veffels of the palace were of gold or filver; of these metals did the Kings cause several forts of animals, plants, and trees, with their branches, flowers and fruits, to be made. 'Tis affirmed, these treasures, or the greatest part of them, were hid by the Indians, after their King Atabalipa was taken by Pizzaro, and could never be found by the Spaniards. The walls of the temple of the fun at Cusco, were overlaid with plates of gold, from top to bottom, and the picture of the fun, with his beams, was all of gold; 'tis faid, a Spaniard having found it, lost it at dice in one night. Indeed the first conquerors of Peru, by their luxury,

Chap. 7. Present State of Heathens in America. 219 luxury, difcords and civil wars among themfelves, enjoyed but for a very little time the fruits of their purchase; yea, many of them came to wretched ends *. The remainders of the temple of the fun stand to this day, and is a part of the monastery of St. Dominic +. Near this principal temple were four others; the first whereof was dedicated to the moon, as fifter and wife of the fun, called by them Quilla, the walls and doors thereof were covered with filver; the fecond was confecrated to the planet Venus, called Chasca, its walls were also overlaid with filver; the third was dedicated to thunder and lightning, which they called by a common name Yllapa. The fourth temple was in honour of Iris, the rainbow, named by them Cugchu, having all the infide enriched with gold. Near these temples, was the house of the priests, who were all to be of the royal family. There were in divers provinces, feveral other temples, built almost in the same manner, and dedicated to the fun, but not fo magnificent as that at Cusco, except one in an isle of the lake Tituaca, where the Yncas had immense treasures; this was the ancientest in Peru, for which the Indians had a particular esteem.

As to the Religion of the *Peruvians*, they adored nothing but the fun as God; the other divinities, to whom they erected temples, were inferior to him. They facrificed to him all forts of animals, and especially sheep; as also, all manner of grain and liquors. They consecrated virgins to the sun at eight years of age, whom they shut up in places appointed for their abode, from whence they did not go abroad, no not so much as to the temple; they preserved a perpetual virginity, employing themselves in their retirement, to make stuffs for the King and Queen's clothes, and to prepare bread and drink for their solemn facrifices; they were almost all of the blood royal. There were other monasteries in other cities of the kingdom, for maidens, who usually served for the King's concubines;

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^{*} Careri du Tour du Monde, Tom. 6. pag. 289-293. † Great Hist. Dictionary on the Word Peru.

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the fairest daughters of the Curacas or great lords were there kept; if any of them appointed for the king, suffered her self to be corrupted, the law commanded her to be buried alive, and him who had debauched her, to be strangled. They had a solemn feast for the sun. go

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Before the Spaniards subdued this kingdom, it had been civilized by the Incas, who had brought them from their barbarous rites and ceremonies, to a more relugar form of government; they had not fo many human facrifices as the Mexicans. Yet Joseph Acosta fays *, That for the Yncas's health when fick, and for bis victory when he went to the wars, they facrificed 200 children, from four to ten years of age. But they detested the custom of eating man's flesh; they were all clothed with garments made of cotton or hair, and had the art of spinning and weaving, managed for most part by men within doors, while their women took care of their agriculture, and other affairs abroad. They had some imperfect notice of the immortality of the foul, and of the rewards and punishments of another life. One argument of the greatness of the Yncas, was his common roads or cawfeys; they had caufed one to be made thro' the plains, another thro' the mountains, each 500 leagues in length, and placed houses at convenient distances on them, to lodge and supply strangers, that they might travel quite thro' them, without charge.

There is a barbarous fort of people inhabiting the mountains of *Peru*, called *Moxos*: Father *Cyprian Baraza* a Jesuit resided some years as a missioner among them, and essayed several ways to engage them to Christianity, but was at last murdered by them, *Sep-*

tember 16th, 1702 +.

The kingdom of Chili lies to the fouthward of Peru, along the coast of the Pacific sea; it was discovered by Diego Almagro, who took possession of it for Charles V. then King of Spain, in the year 1534, and was made governour

^{*} History of the Indies, Book 5. Chap. 19. pag. 380.— † Jesuits Travels, printed 1714. pag. 230. & ieq.—

Chap.7. Present State of Heathens in America. 221 governour thereof. The natives for the greatest part, are idolaters, and worship the devil, whom they call Epanomam, that is, Strong and Powerful; some of them, who are subject to the Spaniards, have been

baptized.

Magellanica is the utmost part of the continent of America, to the south, lying between the 38th and 52d degree of south latitude; it was first discovered by Ferdinand Magellan, in the year 1519, and takes its name from him. There is scarce any colony of Europeans in that country, those the Spaniards had, being dispersed, or perished with hunger. The natives are heathen idolaters, and fear the devil, whom they call Setebos; they clothe themselves with beasts skins, and for most part live in caves, they are called Patagons. The Spaniards represented them as giants, but the latter relations of Englishmen, who have near surrounded the globe, say the contrary.

Rio de la Plata, is so called from a great river of that name, which runs about 300 leagues up the country, which is also called Paraguay. Alvarez Nunnez discovered that river, and settled several Spanish colonies near it in the year 1540. The natives, for the most part, are heathens; they fear the devil, and paint him with great horns *. The colonies of the Spaniards

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ade our Brasil is a great country in South America, lying on the sea, from the river of the Amazons to the province of Paraguay. Its coast is in the form of a great half circle of near 1200 leagues, and the sea waters it on three sides †. It is the most easterly part of all America, between the 1st and 24th degree of south latitude. Alvarez Cabrail discovered it in the year 1501, in the name of the King of Portugal. The natives go naked, they neither sow nor reap, but live by hunting, and of the fruits which the earth produceth of its own accord. They eat their enemies whom they take, rather to satisfy their revenge, than their taste. They

^{*} Thef. Geograph. pag. 494.

[†] Great Historical Dictionary on the Word Brafil.

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have no prince, no laws, and little religion. the heart of the country are still unknown, and have mutual wars. The greatest part of them are counted forcerers; those who dwell on the coast are more civilized, by reason of their commerce with the Europeans. They follow the Romish Religion in places subject to the Portuguese, who pretend to have made many converts among the natives; but elfewhere they have no temples, and little form of any Religion, fave, that they believe there is a God, and evil fpirits who come to torment them. Alexander Ross fays *, the people of Brafil acknowledge the immortality of the foul, and that there are rewards and punishments after this life; for they hope, if they kill and facrifice many of their enemies, they shall be carried beyond the mountains into pleasant gardens, there to dance and rejoice with their forefathers. They fland in awe of the devil, who is still vexing them, and therefore they worship him, and when they go abroad they commonly carry fire with them, as their defence against the devil, who they think is afraid of it. They have their folemn festivals, which they celebrate with dancing, howling and tattling.

The country of the Amazons is so called, because it lies along the river of the Amazons, which rises in the mountains near Quito, and runs from west to east 1800 leagues +; it exceeds all the rivers in the world in length and breadth ||. The vast country called Guiana is not yet throughly known, no more than a great part of America; but there are some provinces along this river so well inhabited, and villages there so frequent, that the sound of those who work in one is heard in another. The natives for most part go naked, but some of them have garments of cotton; they are idolaters, and make images of wood, which they set up in the corners of their houses, having no temples. They know not the use of iron or steel, but cut out their

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^{*} Pansebeia, pag. 113.

⁺ Historical Dictionary.

Thefaurus Geographicus, pag. 496.

Chap.7. Present State of Heathers in America. 223 images with hatchets of stone or very hard wood. Their priests make them believe, these deities come down from heaven to dwell among them. There is an excellent description of this river composed by Peter Texeira a Portuguese, who surveyed it all over in 10 months.

Terra Firma is a large country within the Torrid Zone, possessed by the Spaniards; it comprehends the isthmus of north and south America, Terra Firma properly fo called, the Golden Castile, the governments of Carthagena, Saneta Martha, New Cordoua, Panama, Popajan, Porto Bello, Venezuela, Nova Granada, Andalusia, Paria, &c. Du Perrier, in his Collection of Voyages, fays, "The natives in these parts * have " among them certain religious people, whom they " call Tequinas, to whom they pay the greatest respect; " these consult the devil about all affairs, as, whether "they shall go to war or not? and at what time? "To which the devil being an aftrologer, often gives " fuch answers as prove proper, which the Tequinas " immediately make a report of to the people. The " Indians deceived by these predictions, see the effect of "what has been foretold a long while before it hap-" pens, which inclines them eafily to believe the reft." There are certain provinces where human flesh is offered to these Demons, in others they content themselves to burn incense and sweet odours to them. If it happens the fuccess does not answer the prediction of the Tequinas, he immediately tells the people, Their Deity bas changed bis mind, and thus imposes upon the poor wretches. "They pay their principal devotion to the " fun and moon, and likewise look on their Caciques " as visible Gods; they pay them all respect, and do " them all the service in their power. When a Ca-" cique comes to die, his chief fervants, men and wo-" men, kill themselves, to accompany and serve him " in the other world. It is a common error with them, " that those who cut off themselves for the sake of " their Cacique, go with him directly to the other world,

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^{*} Du Perrier, pag. 194.

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" to do him the fame fervices as here upon earth; but those who have not the courage to kill them-

" felves, die with their bodies, like those of other In-

"Cacique or Prince. Before they make away with

** themselves, they have the precaution to bury in the

" ground Maiz, and other provisions, to subsist them

" in the other world,"

Beside all these territories I have discoursed of, in New Holland, New Guinea, New Zealand, Statesland, and other countries discovered lately by the Dutch, the natives are heathens, and have oratories in which they worship their idols. In many isles of South America, which I shall not trouble my reader with, and also in some parts of the north Frigid Zone near the Pole, the natives labour under black heathenish igno-

rance and infidelity.

The account we have given of the state of Paganism over the world, as has been formerly remarked *, does discover the insufficiency of nature's light to conduct men to happiness, and the necessity of divine revelation; since these religions invented by men, and propagated by the enemy of mankind are so absurd, and destructive to immortal souls. And we have also here a plain view, how vast a work it is to propagate the Christian Religion over so great a part of the world. The barvest truly is great, and the labourers sew; pray ye therefore the lord of the barvest, that he would send forth labourers into his barvest +.

Before I conclude this chapter, allow me to observe, that the learned Gotofredus has several remarks, which deserve our attention. After he has, in his Geography, given an account of the Spanish dominions in America, he says ||, The Spanish America has four Archbishops, one at St. Domingo, another at Mexico, a third at Lima, and a fourth at St. Foy.. The first has three suffragans, the second ten, the third nine, and the fourth

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^{*} Supra; Vol. 1. + Luke 10.2.

| Archontologia Cosmica, pag. 330, & seq.

Chap. 7. Present State of Heathens in America. 225 three. All of them have great yearly revenues; beside a great number of monks of several orders, as Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustines, Jesuits, and Mendicant Friars; in all be reckons of this kind of religious persons 5000 in the Spanish conquests, besides secular priests. I nothing doubt but that number of ecclefiaftics may be increased since Gotofredus's time, his book which I cite being printed in the year 1628. And Gemelli Careri, a late popish traveller, whose voyages I see printed in 1719, tells us of fo great a number of ecclefiasticks in the metropolitan church of Mexico, by it felf alone, as do enjoy a yearly revenue of 300,000 pieces of Eight *. So great a number of churchmen, so well supported by a powerful government, might have done a great deal for propagating Christianity among infidels; but alas! they have done little or nothing. The barbarous massacres committed by the Spanish soldiers on the poor Indians at their first entry, gave them such impressions of their new masters, as they could not be reconciled to their way; whereas a rational gaining method, with humble dependance on the grace and spirit of God for his affiftance and influence, is the best means to persuade people to receive the Gospel. The idleness, laziness, luxury, and debauchery of the popish clergy, makes them to this day unmindful and unfit for that affair, and their pride and idolatry renders them unsuccessful. Heathen idols are not to be plucked up, and Christian idols planted in the room of them; but idolatry must be pulled out root and branch.

Beside, as the same Gotofredus observes +, The Spanish priests were at no pains to learn the language of the Indians, in order to catechize or instruct them, but only gave them a name at haptism, driving in hundreds and thousands to be haptized, who knew nothing of the Christian Religion, in so far as they knew not whether they were haptized or not; and those who understood they had received it, never did ahandon their polygamy and idolatry.

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^{*} Careri Tour du Monde, Tom. 6. pag. 33. † Gotofredi Archontologia Cosmica, pag. 347.

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idolatry. In this method real fuccess can never be expected; but if good men did feriously apply themselves to the conversion of these people, there is no such difficulty in their language, but that it might be soon attained. For, as Gotofredus a papift also observes *, The language of Mexico extends over a vast country 1000 leagues in length, the native Idiom of Peru or Cusco as far. By the help of one of these, a zealous good man might have done great fervice; the people being under some rules of government, fixed to work, and to improve their lands in their fixed habitations, it might be more easy to instruct them, than the Indians in other places, who have no fixed refidence, but wander hither and thither. They might foon be made fensible of the liberty which the Christian Religion admits them to, delivering them from the fervitude of fatan, and those barbarous human facrifices they were in the time of their ignorance used to perform; and fince they have some notion of the immortality of the foul, this might be improved, in order to direct them in the right method to obtain everlasting happiness, and shun eternal misery. If once these blessed times. were come, when the church shall come out of Babylon. when the Lord the Messiah shall be King over all the earth, one Lord, and his name One, when the Spirit shall be poured out upon all flesh; then the kingdoms of the world shall become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ, and he shall reign for ever and ever.

Gotofredi Archontologia Cosmica, pag. 336. See also John Acosta's History of the Indies, Book VII. Chap. XXVIII, page mihi 585.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Propagation of the Christian Religion, and Overthrow of Paganism, since the reviving of Arts and Sciences, Knowledge and Learning in the fifteenth Century, and downward to the present Time.

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WE have observed in the third, fourth, and fixth chapters of this history, what glorious advances the Christian Religion has made over the world, to the overthrow of heathenish idolatry, in the former ages of the Christian Church; what glorious trophies our Redeemer's kingdom has erected, by fubduing many nations of the earth, in accomplishment of the ancient promise, All nations shall serve bim. And in this chapter, we may discover from the fifteenth century, and to the present time, what further progress Christianity has made, even among the heathens, the habitations of horrid cruelty, whose state has been already described. Tho' very much remains still to be done, yet infidelity and heathenish idolatry has been in some measure crushed, Satan's kingdom has fallen like lightning, the Gospel of Christ has had a free course, and been glorified in some parts, where heathenism formerly prevailed, and a way, I hope, opened for the more fuccessful endeavours of after-ages. Divine Providence has ordered, that the reviving of arts and sciences, knowledge and learning, have contributed to this good work; and therefore, I shall in a few words take notice of these great improvements.

The art of *Printing* was found out at *Mentz*, by *John Faustus*, in the year 1440*; this made books and learning have a more easy passage over the world.

^{*}Guido Pancirollus nuper inventarum Rerum memorabilium. pagmihi 311. Edit. Francofurti, in 4to.

It is much cheaper and easier to buy a printed book, than to transcribe a manuscript out of a library. The useful invention of the mariners needle or compass, was discovered at Terra di Lavoro, in the kingdom of Naples, about the year 1330 *. The ancients, for want of this, knew little of Navigation, but only coafting; whereas in our days, bold pilots adventure thro' the ocean, pass the Equator and Tropics, yea, furround the world. The inhabitants of the East Indies, for many ages had been little difturbed by strangers, till the Portuguese, under the conduct of Vasco di Gama, about the latter end of the fifteenth century, began to fettle there, to the great advantage of their country; but the Dutch being more cunning and diligent, wormed them out of a great part of their trade afterward. America, in a manner the half of the world, was unknown to Europe, till the way was opened thither by Christopher Columbus a Genoese, in the year 1492: he got but an ordinary reward for fo important a discovery. Americo Vespucio, a Florentine, in the year 1497, made some farther progress, which has been very much improved in latter times.

Knowledge and Learning in Europe suffered a great shock, and was in hazard to dwindle into nothing, by the decay of the Western Empire, and the inundation of the Northern barbarous nations in the fifth and fixth centuries. Charlemain did endeavour to restore it in France, and propagate it over his empire; but in the ninth, tenth, and fome subsequent centuries, by the idleness and debauchery of the monks, and others of the Romish clergy, by their scholastic quibbles, doting upon peripatetic philosophy, and neglecting to improve the Holy Scriptures, the Languages, the Mathematics, or almost any useful part of Learning, it was again like to go to ruin; 'till about the end of the fifteenth century, by the diligence of some great men, Learning began to revive, which was further advanced by our Reformers from Popery in the fixteenth century,

^{*} Ibid. pag. 233, 236.

and by the careful improvements of some eminent men fince that time *!

How far these things did tend to open a door for the propagation of the Christian Religion over the world. we may see in the words of the learned Monsieur Jurieu. He fays +, "God has revived the light of knowledge " of the Sciences; which was almost quite extinguished " under the barbarism of scholastic learning. In the " last century, God caused the knowledge of the Greek and Hebrew tongues to revive; which was of fuch use " for understanding the facred inspired writings, and the confutation of herefy and idolatry, that the Paof pifts do not scruple to fay, it is what has undone thems " In this century, the Providence of God has carried the " acuteness and delicacy of men's minds to that degree, " that it may be truly faid, the most enlightned and " refined ages, were barbarous in comparison of this. "The speculative sciences and true philosophy are " brought to that perfection, that all we have had " before may be reckoned simplicity and ignorance. "This new philosophy does open and enlarge the " mind, and the light we receive from it does very much to featter that thick darkness, which the phi-" losophy of the schools had cast upon the doctrine of " religion. We shall shortly see of what use this may be, to destroy the monsters of Transubstantiation and the " Real Presence. I look upon the voyages of our Eu-" ropeans, the discoveries made of new countries in the te East and West, and the improvement of the art of " Navigation, to be a means which God prepares for the fulfilling of that great promife; that concerns " the conversion of the Gentiles. Why did God reserve " the invention of the sea-compass to these last times? "Why was it not known three of four hundred years " fooner, what it was to fail upon the ocean at great " distance from the shore? Was there less curiosity, " covetousness, or industry among men formerly than

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^{*} The Improvements of Moderns, fee in Wotton's Reflections on Learning.

[†] Preface to the Accomplishment of Prophecies

" of the world should live in ignorance of the other for " fo long a time?—For my own part, I cannot but

" look upon this as a work of a most wife Providence,

" discovering to us unknown people, whose conversion

he defigns to bring about in a fhort time. I confider the great number of Half-Christians which the

co populh missions make in the Indies, to be just as Pro-

" selvtes of the Gate, which the Fews made; they were

" properly neither Jews nor Christians, but were the " feed of Christianity. These Eastern converts made

by Papists are neither Heathens nor Christians, but

ce they will be the first part of the harvest God intends

to have among this people; and after they are fully

converted, they'll be very ferviceable to promote

the conversion of those who are yet altogether pa-

gans. I admire, fays be, the depth of Divine Pro-"vidence, that by infenfible steps and degrees, dispo-

se feth the Mahometan nations for Christianity. For

this we need but confult the fecond book of the pre-

er fent state of the Ottoman Empire, by Sir Paul Rycaut,

where we meet with a Sect of Mahometans, who be-

" lieve the Messiah took a natural body, that being

eternal, he became incarnate, as the Christians be-

" lieve; wherefore they infert that article into their

" confession of faith, That Christ shall come to judge the

" world at the last day "."

We may also observe with Mr. Fenkyns +, that Christianity has been still professed in those parts of the world, where there has been most learning and commerce, where they have been most able, and had greatest opportunities to instruct other nations. To which end, the vast extent, first of the Greek, Latin and Syriac, and fince of the Persian, Sclavonic and Arabic tongues, have been very advantageous; the Scriptures of the New Testament being written in the first, and translated into all the rest. And tho' by the just and wife Providence of God, Mahometans and Idolaters

^{*} Rycaut's present State of the Ottoman Empire, lib. 2. cap. 11, 12. † Reasonableness of the Christian Religion, Vol. I. pag. 116, & seq.

have been fuffered to possess themselves of those places in Greece, Asia, and Africa, where the Christian Religion formerly most flourished, yet there are still remainders of the Christian Religion among them, so as to give them opportunity to be converted, when their fins shall not hinder to restore the Gospel to these countries as before. For, by Mr. Brerewood's account *, in the dominions of the Turks in Europe, the Christians make two third parts at least of the inhabitants; and in Confantinople itself he reckons above twenty Christian Churches, and above thirty in Thessalonica, where the Mahometans have, or had but three mosques. Philadelphia, now called Alashakir, has no fewer than twelve Christian Churches +. The whole island of Chio is governed by Christians; there are above thirty Latin churches, and above five hundred Greek; and in some other islands of the Archipelago, there are none but Christians. Which, by Sir Paul Rycaut's account | of the present state of the Ottoman Empire, has not been without very confiderable effect; for a Sect among the Turks, called Haietti, hold, that Christ is eternal, that he was incarnate, and that he shall come to judge the world at the last day. The students in the Grand Seignior's court generally maintain, That Christ is God, and the This is a common tenet in Redeemer of the world. Constantinople, the professors of it are stiled, Chup Messabi, or, the good followers of the Messab; and fome have fuffered martyrdom in maintenance of this doctrine. The Turkish foldiers on the confines of Hungary and Bosnia, read the Gospel in the Sclavonian tongue. Bernier writes t, that in the country of the Mogul, tho' the missionaries make some progress among the Gentiles, yet they do not, in ten years, make one Christian of a Mahometan: but he says, the Great Mogul, Jehan Guire, grand-father to Aureng-Zebe, consented, that two of his nephews should be Christians, and

* Brerewood's Enquiry, chap. 10.

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[†] Rycaut's present State of the Greek Church, pag. 74. || Lib. 2. cap. 11, 12. | # Memoirs, Tom. 3.

and declares, that the Mahometans have venerable thoughts of our religion; that they never speak of Christ, but with great reverence; that they never pronounce the word Ayla, i. e. Jesus, without adding that of Azaret, which fignifies Majesty; that they agree with us, that he was miraculoully born of a virginmother, and that he is the Kelum-Allah, and Roub-Allah, the Word of God, and the Spirit of God. All which is no more than the Alcoran teaches them, nor than the Mahometans of Persia and Morocco pretend to believe. The Persian Mahometans * receive among their facred books, the Pentateuch, the Pfalms, all the books of the Prophets, and the four Evangelist; the reading of these, has been the means which God has been pleased to make use of, for the conversion of many persons of great eminency. In the kingdom of Morocco, they receive the books of Moses, the Psalms, and the four Gospels, and observe the festival of St. John, tho' in the Gospels they follow the false glosses of Sergius and the Alcoran +. Sir Thomas Roe observes |, that the great Mogul, Erbar Sha, gave the missionaries all manner of encouragement and affiftance, with full liberty to all forts of his subjects to become Christians, even to his own court and blood, and that neither Jeban Guire, to whom he was fent ambassador, nor any of all the fects in his kingdom, uttered any difrespectful words of Christ, as they did not forbear to do of Mabomet; which, fays he, is a wonderful fecret working of God's Truth, and worth observing. It is also obferved lately, by a learned author t, that the Christians had better terms from Mahomet himself, than any of his tributaries; and, that there is no Mahometan country, where the Christian Religion is not esteemed the best, next to their own, and the professors thereof accordingly respected by them, before any other fort of men that differ from them.

Peter

^{*} Sanson Royaume de Perse.

[†] Relation de l'Empire de Maroc, par Mr. de St. Olon.

Letter, October 30, 1616. + Prideaux's Life of Mahomet.

Peter Texeira, in the account of his travels from India to Italy, by land, fays*, That near Bazora he saw the Mahometans praying to a place which looked like a hermitage, standing on the banks of the river; and asking, what place that was? they answered, it was dedicated to Iza ben Mariam, that is, to Jesus the son of Mary, shewing a considerable quantity of land, and palm-tree groves, whose revenues belonged to that chapel; which I much admired, says he, for tho I knew the Mahometans honoured him much by the title of Rugalah, which signifies, the Breath of God, yet I never heard they dedicated a church to him.

My present business is to enquire into the propagation of Christianity in those parts of the world possessed by heathens, where I shall not forget the endeavours either of Papists or Protestants, so far as they have

come to my knowledge.

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The order of time leads me to begin with the Popish Missions. The Portugueze being the first who opened the way by navigation, to the East Indies, we may find in the historians of that nation, the first account of Popish Missionaries, from the fifteenth Century and downward. That I might be able to meet with them, I have look'd into Manuel di Faria y Soufa, who has writ the history of the discovery and conquest of India, by the Portugueze, containing all their discoveries from the coasts of Afric, to the farthest parts of China and Japan; all their battles by sea and land, sieges and other memorable actions, with a description of those countries, in three tomes; which are englished by captain Stevens, and printed at London, 1695. where we have a history of the Portugueze navigations and affairs in these countries, from the year 1412, to 1640. Many of these things, in remote parts of the world, seem a little tedious to us, tho' we may own, that in this hiltory there are many strange adventures, and bloody encounters: Into the detail of which I do not enter; only may observe, that Vasco di Gama, with three

^{*} Texeira's Travels, pag. 17. in a Collection of Travels, printed

ships, first discovered the way to the East Indies, by the Cape of Good Hope, in the year 1493. Very considerable conquests and settlements were made by him, and by the Portugueze afterward, under the government of Alfonso di Albuquerque, from the year 1509, to 1515. Ferdinando di Castaneda, in his history of the Indies*, says, That Gama, with some of his retinue being at Calecut, and entering into the Pagan Temples, paid their reverence to the images there, taking them for the same which they had left in their own churches in Portugal: A convincing proof, that Pagan and Romish idols are so like, that the difference is hardly discernible.

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even by their own votaries!

But I'm principally to observe what relates to the Propagation of Christianity. Our author, Manuel di Faria, fays +, that the King and Queen of Congo in Africa, with a great multitude of their people, were baptized in the year 1491. He also remarks, that some princes of Malabar, long before the Portugueze Conquests in the Indies, were persuaded by the Moors, who traded in these parts, to turn Mahometan ||. It were happy, if Christians who now trade into those parts, could have the influence to perfuade those princes to embrace Christianity. The same author says, that about the year 1544, in the government of Martin Alfonso de Soufa, one Anthony de Payva, who went as a merchant, but proved more preacher than merchant, had some conference with the king of Supa, who was seventy years of age, and was very near being converted. Payva failing thence, went to the port of Siam, where he explained the articles of religion to the king, and urged the abfurdity of the adoration of idols, preffing him to embrace the Christian Faith; but the king defired time to consider. Mean time the king of Supa arrived at Siam, and hearing what had passed, said, a work so good ought rather to be put in execution than delayed. He was only forry for the time he himself had

^{*} Lib. 1. cap. 16. See Philips's Religion and Manners of Malabar.

† Portugueze Afia, Tom. 1. pag. 32.

| Portugueze Afia, Tom. 1. pag. 100.

lost, and would attone by being the first convert, and desired immediately to be baptized. All stood amazed, and there being no priest, the ancientest of the Portugueze performed the function, and he was christened Lewis. Then the queen, and many who came with him, were baptized also: which solemnity was celebrated by the guns, and warlike instruments in the place. The king of Siam, moved by this example, was baptized, with his whole family*. I relate the

In Tome 2d, Part 4th, this author + has a pretty

story as I find it.

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large account of the opinions and superstitions of the Affatic Heathens, and particularly of the Indians; which I shall not trouble my reader with, having explained them from other authors, in the former chapter. Near the end of that volume, he fays |, Christianity being now utterly corrupted in some parts of Asia, and quite lost in others, the Portugueze arms, accompanied with apostolical ministers, went thither to restore it. first who baptized in that part of Asia, was F. Peter de Cubilones, of the boly order of the Bleffed Trinity, and confessor to the first discoverer, Vasco di Gama. The most successful labourers after him, were in India, Michael Vaz, and James de Borba, and other Religious, of the order of St. Francis. In the Molucco islands, Captain Francis di Caltro, who converted five kings in the island Mazacar, Captain Anthony de Payva, who in the same island baptized two kings, and their courts, in one day. There is very little more concerning the propagation of Christianity in this Portugueze history; the most part of it being taken up with their wars, conquests, good and bad fortune, by sea and land. 'Tis true, they had, and still have an archbishop at Goa, whom they call metropolitan and primate of Asia; Cochim was made a bishoprick in the year 1559, Malacca the same year, and Meliapor in 1607 t, beside many other ecclefiaftics. But they are now dilpossessed

^{*} Portugueze Afia, Tom. 2. pag. 81, 82.

[†] Ibidem, pag. 375, & feq. || Ibidem, pag. 516. ‡ Di Faria's Portugueze Afia, Tom. 3. pag. 419.

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pagation of Christianity.

The great man the church of Rome boafts of, as most successful in this work, is Francis Xavier, whom they call the Apostle of the Indies. The sum of his life, even as given by popish authors *, is as follows: He was born of a noble family at Pampelona in Navarre, in the year 1497; he studied and taught philosophy and divinity at Paris, whence he went companion to Ignatius Loyola, founder of the order of Jesuits, and followed his rule. He came to Portugal, in order to pass into India, in the year 1540, in the reign of king John III. he was honoured with the dignity of Apostolical Nuncio in the East, and during his voyage, and also in the Indies, was called Holy Father; he preached in the island Zocotora, at Goa, and Travancor, where he was persecuted. It cost him no less pains to reclaim the Portugueze, debauched with the riches of Asia, than to convert infidels. In the island Ceylon, he converted the king of Candea; he went thence to the Moluccoes, and is faid to have converted many people. After several times traversing the Indian islands, and some parts of that continent, he went to Japan, and with the prince's leave preached at Congóxima, and endured several hardships; thence went to Firando, Yam, Anguibi and Miaco, where, with great pains, he planted the faith. After converting the king of Bungo, who foon after died a Christian, being called Francis at baptism, he returned to Malacca. Next, he prepared to go into China, and died at the entry to it, in the island Sancyon, Anno Dom. 1552, the fifty-fifth year of his age, and eleventh of his preaching, having first foretold the day of his death, which was December 2d, about midnight. His body, the year following, was translated to Goa; he was canonized by Pope Gregory XV. in the year 1622. This is the whole story of his life, as delivered by Manuel di Faria. As to the great number of converts he is faid to have made, I have taken

^{*} Ibidem, Tom. 2. pag. 516.

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taken some notice of them already *, and shall perhaps meet with them again, before I have done with this chapter. And as to the miracles he is alledged to have done, recited in his bull of canonization by Pope Urban VIII, in the year 1623, the first of his pontificate. noticed by F. Boubours and other writers of Xavier's life. and fummed by Hoornbeeck +; as, that a whole army that was marching against the Christians, at the fight of Xavier, was terrified, and forced to retire; that at Comorin he restored a dead man to life; that he healed a beggar full of ulcers, by washing him in water; calmed tempests; restored several to life, as they were carrying out to be buried; that at Tolo in the Moluccoes, having baptized twenty-five thousand people, when they were like to apostatize, he made a mountain to vomit up a great deal of fire, ashes, and pumicestones, the walls of the city to fall flat by an earthquake, and to be taken by its enemies, prepared to revenge the apostasy of that people; but at last, when the people fell at his feet, and declared their repentance, he pardoned their fault: that when he preached to feveral nations, every one heard him speaking in their own language; thus they make an Apostle of him: These things are like other miracles, advanced to fayour the canonization of popish faints, fabulous and romantic, that cannot be credited, but by those who are given up to strong delusions, to believe a lye. How could fuch an itinerant preacher learn fo many difficult languages, so as to be able to preach to, and instruct to many far diffant people, in different countries and islands, and all in eleven years space? Especially, fince these gifts are now ceased, and Xavier himself lays ||, If we understood the language of Japan, I doubt not but very many would be perfuaded to embrace Christianity; but now we are as dumb statues before them, they speak many things before us, which we understand not, being ignorant

^{*} Above, pag. 178.

Hoornbeeck de Conversione Indorum, pag. 203, 204.

Xavier Epist. lib. 3. Epist. 5.

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norant of their native tongue, and we, in the mean time, are like boys, learning the first elements of their language. After all, it appears by the Jesuits Letters, and others, who have travelled into those parts, that the Papists invocate and idolize Xavier, and keep festivals to his me-

mory: but 'tis time to take our leave of him.

The church of Rome has been at great pains to compass sea and land to make proselytes. 'Tis not easy, nor very edifying, to give account of all the missions, the feveral nations in her communion, have fent here and there thro' the earth. But we have a view of the state of religion among them, throughout the world, writ for the use of Pope Innocent XI. by Monseignior Cerri, Secretary to the congregation de Propaganda Fide, which was found in the library of the abbot of St. Gall, after he had been defeated by the troops of Zurich and Bern, and lodged in the library of Zurich. Sir Richard Steele has caused it to be translated into English, and printed in the year 1715. From this author, I take the following account of the popish mission naries for propagating Christianity among the heathers in Asia, Africa, and America; following pretty near the method of the former chapter, and fometimes adding a few remarks from others. When I have done with him, I shall give some accounts of popish missionaries from other authors, and particularly of the miffions to China.

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I begin with Afra. The Ancients, says D. Urbano Cerri*, had some knowledge of the East Indies; but 'tis certain, the discovery of these countries ought properly to be ascribed to the Portugueze, who having crossed the seas, made themselves arbiters, if not masters, of all these coasts and islands, which are divided into many kingdoms. The Portugueze have been possessed of them for a long time, to the advantage of the Catholick Faith. The fear the Indians conceived, of being subject to the crown and laws of Portugal, is they

^{*} Account of the Roman Catholick Religion thro' the World, page 104. and following.

Chap. 8. Propagation of Christianity in Asia. 239 they should become Christians, put a stop to their conversion. These nations being divided into several tribes, had rather fuffer any thing than forfake their own tribe; and therefore a Jesuit, named Robert de Nobili, before he went into a mission to the kingdom of Madure, used himself to the austere life of the Brachmans, abstaining from wine and flesh, and every thing that had life in it. He being arrived in the East Indies, faid he was a Brachman, which, fays my author, was no lye, and made great progress in the conversion of the Indians, preaching up, that every body ought to remain in his own tribe. After he had converted twelve Brachmans, he made them his companions and catechilts, and baptized in a very little time forty thousand persons of feveral tribes. Being fensible of the usefulness of this method to profelyte the heathens, he proposed to erect a feminary of Brachmans, to make them, if not priests, at least catechists; but the Portugueze, and Jesuits themselves, did not approve of it. Thus, after the death of that father, the true method of keeping and increasing the number of new converts fell to the ground. There are in the college de Propaganda Fide, some places for the Brachmans, founded by Cardinal St. Onofrio, and three Brachmans are at present educated in that college.

The empire of the Great Mogul is an inlet to the Indies, both by sea and land; his empire consists of thirty-seven kingdoms, now reduced into provinces, where he keeps governours: so that he is equal to, if not greater than the Turkish Emperor, in power and riches. As for religion, he is a Mahometan, and follows the exposition of the Alcoran made by Ali: he has a great veneration for one of his ancestors, who reigned at the end of the last century, who seems to have had some knowledge of the Catholic Religion; for he had a great esteem for images, and our priests; nay, he sent for one as far as Bengala, to be instructed by him; but because he did not well understand the mysteries of our faith, and would not part with his concubines, he could not be converted. This Emperor

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was fucceeded by his fon, who, when in rebellion as gainst his father, was defeated by the advice of the Portugueze, whereupon he swore to his false prophet, that if ever he should reign, he would persecute all the Christians; and indeed he destroyed a whole town belonging to the Portugueze. However, many converfions being made in his father's time, there was in the year 1640, some hope of bettering the condition of our religion, which is the reason why the congregation was defired to fend missionaries into that kingdom. The Theatines lived in the kingdom of Golconda, which is tributary to the Great Mogul, and rich in mines and diamonds: That mission, which was the only one in that country, is now quite over. But the barefooted Carmelites are fettled at Tatta, a populous city, where they have a church, and some faithful; but very much lessened, since the Portugueze were expelled from thence. Surat is a famous port, where the French Capuchines make their refidence, who are ferviceable to the missionaries. To conclude, the Great Mogul allows liberty of conscience in his vast dominions; which should move the Holy See to provide that empire with missionaries, and even to send thither a bishop to propagate the Christian Religion.

Idalcan is a populous kingdom of Heathens, not far from Goa; there is a congregation of priefts, who are natives of that country, and all Brachmans; they have made a vast number of converts, and live in common under the rule of St. Philip Neri, founded there by the Bishop of Crispoli, who was an Indian, and died lately very old in the college de Propaganda Fide. After he had been bred at Rome, and made a bishop, he was sent into that kingdom, where he built two churches at his There is now in that country one of his own charge. kinsmen, with the title of Apostolical Vicar, called the Bishop of Hierapoli, bred at the college. Another Indian Bishop has been lately made; he is a Theatine, and related to the Bishop of Crispoli above-named; he has jurisdiction as an Apostolical Vicar in several kingdoms about Cape Comorin, and the coast of Pescara; we

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Chap. 8. Propagation of Christianity in Asia. 241 hope for good from him, but the Portugueze are displeased with bishops sent from Rome into those parts, without their consent; and if the Holy See does not put a stop to their pretensions, Religion will neither be

propagated nor preserved in the East Indies.

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As to Malabar, Christianity was established there by the glorious Apostle St. Thomas; the Christians who live in the states of twenty-one petty kings, have one thousand four hundred villages, great or small, and an hundred and twenty-seven churches, with their priests. The number of these Christians, says M. Cerri *, amounts to two hundred thousand. They have a veneration for the holy cross, are careful to pray for the fouls in purgatory, and to fast; tho' they live in woods and mountains, yet they prove good Catholics, and obedient to the Bishop of Rome. They fell into the schism of Nestorius, but were freed from it by the intercession of Alexio Menezes, in the time of Pope Paul V. and had a native for their Archdeacon, who being an ambitious man, difpenfed the Sacraments invalidly, and committed many irregularities. The bare-footed Carmelites being fent to them, they returned to the obedience of the church of Rome, and an Indian Bishop was regularly ordained for them. Many Jesuits were fent to their country, and continued there forty years. Of this church in Malabar, I have discoursed more fully in the foregoing chapter +, where the reader may find a more full and true account of these Chriftians.

M. Cerri next goes to Bengala, and fays, in this vast country watered by the Ganges, there are twenty-two thousand Christians, divided into eleven parishes, each of which has a curate and vicar; but there are great disorders, not only among the Lay-Christians, who plunge themselves into all manner of vice, but even among the Curates themselves, who live a loose life, keep a great many servants, are generally very ignorant of the languages and sciences, and extremely greedy

^{*} Cerri, ubi supra, pag. 108. † Above, pag. 148,—152. Vol. II.

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greedy of money, which has occasioned many incon-

M. Cerri laments*, that the Dutch company have possessed themselves of the isles of Java and Moluccoes, seized the city Malacca, settled themselves in Ceylon, and taken many other places in Bisnagar, in the coasts of Travanor, Cranganor, Conanor, &c. and in short, are very powerful in the East Indies. That the Danes have a fortress at Tranquebar, on the coast of Coromandel; and the English at Matras. But the all-this be a loss to the designs of the church of Rome, yet I hope it shall prove useful for promoting true Christianity among the heathen Indians, as we may hear more sully before we have done with this history.

Goa is still in possession of the Portugueze, where a Popish Archbishop resides. Concerning this city, I shall add from another author +, that Albuquerque, the victorious Portugueze, took it in the year 1509, and his countrymen afterward defended it against seventy thousand foot, and three thousand five hundred horse, which Idul-Cann brought to reduce it; and it has been since much enlarged and beautisted. Above twenty little towns, planted by the Portugueze, are seen within thirty miles compass, as also the ruins of two hundred idol temples, which the viceroy Antonio Norogna utterly demolished, that no memory nor monuments might remain of so gross heathenish idolatry.

Above forty of the Philippine islands are under the dominion of the King of Spain, above five hundred monks are dispersed thro' these isles, where, says M. Cerri, they teach the Christian Doctrine, and have many converts. The most considerable of them is Lusson, in which stands Manilla, an archiepiscopal city, full of churches, convents, colleges, hospitals, and other religious places. These isless have produced very diligent men for the missions of Japan, and now many Dominicans and Franciscans go from them into

China.

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^{*} Cerri, ubi supra, pag. 112. + Sir Thomas Herbert's Travels, in Harris's Collection, Vol. I. pag. 210.

Chap.8. Propagation of Christianity in Asia. 243
China. Gemelli Careri has a beautiful description of
them*. In the beginning of the fixth volume of the
Jesuits Letters, printed at Paris, by a letter given at
Carouvepondi in the kingdom of Carnate, January 1st,
1702, we have a discovery of several more Philippine
islands than were before known, with a chart of them.

The isles called Ladrones are in the South-Sea, three hundred leagues distant from the Philippines, ill provided with things necessary for life. It is within these ten years that a Spanish Jesuit called Father St. Vittores, did so prevail with the Queen, her ministers, and his superiors, that he settled there a mission of his own order, which made a great progress in a short time; but at last he suffered martyrdom, with two of his companions, and therefore six other fathers were sent thither

last year, to affift the former mission.

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Vol. I.

China is a valt empire, divided from Tartary by a wall of five hundred leagues; 'tis very populous, and abounds with every thing necessary for use. The inhabitants are all idolaters, excepting fome few, who have been made Christians within these hundred years. The progress of Christianity among the Chinese was so considerable in the very beginning, that one might have expected a speedy and easy conversion of that people; but the fathers of the fociety having obtained the title of Mandarins, and the eminent post of the head of the Mathematicians, to which sciences the Chinese are mighty pretenders, they were not only banished from that country, but also a persecution raised against the Roman Catholic Religion. They falsely accused these fathers of keeping intelligence with the Portugueze, to the prejudice of China, and of a delign to have it subdued by European nations. Whereupon the Tartars, who now reign in that country, conquered by the father of the present king, suspecting, that during that prince's minority the people had a mind to shake off their yoke, prohibited all manner of commerce with foreigners, and particularly with the Portugueze. We are informed, this severe edict has been recalled, and that it

^{*} Tour du Monde, Tome cinquieme. Paris 1719.

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has been declared, the Catholic Religion is not prejudicial to the empire of China: And therefore the Dominicans in the Philippine islands, the Minor Observantines, and even the Jesuits, have begun to return to that country. But the last letters from thence inform us, there are new wars in that empire, that the Chinese of the ancient royal family have begun to expel the Tartars; and therefore 'tis to be feared, such a change of government may, for some politick ends, occasion new perfecutions against the Roman Catholic Religion. But of the popish missions to China, we may speak more afterwards.

Siam is a kingdom fituate in the Southern part of the Indies, beyond the gulf of Bengala, and confifts of eleven provinces, once as many kingdoms, the chief whereof is Siam, fo called from its capital city, where its king refides; there he has a publick church and a feminary, where the natives are inftructed to be made priefts. In the beginning of the mission he desired to be informed of the mysteries of our religion, which were explained to him by the missionaries in the Siamese language, and he allowed materials to build a church, which was done. The Mahometans obstruct propagating the faith, and send missions to the king, to perfuade him to embrace Mahometanism, yet our missionaries make great progress.

Cochin-China borders on Tonchin and Siam. The inhabitants appear well affected to Christianity, and, were it not for perfecution and royal edicts, would embrace it. This kingdom is under the pastoral care of the Bishop of Barutti, he and other missionaries have made great progress there, and in the kingdom of Ciampa

subject to it.

Cambaja pays now tribute to the King of Cochin-China. There is a very ancient temple, as famous among the Gentiles, as St. Peter's at Rome is among the Christians; many Talapoins, who are great doctors of the law, live in the temple, neighbouring nations resort to it, to consult the oracle, and go thither by way of pilgrimage: the King of Siam, tho' an enemy, sends

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Chap. 8. Propagation of Christianity in Asia. 245 every year an embassay to that place. The Apostolical Vicars have made converts in this kingdom, but because the language of the country is difficult, and for some other reasons, have not been able to propagate the Christian Faith in it. There are many sorcerers in

this and the adjacent kingdoms.

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Tonchin eight hundred years ago was a province of China and Cochin-China; it is now a kingdom almost as large as France, and very fruitful, lying in the Torrid Zone. Their King, called Bua, never comes out of his palace but once a year, to receive homage from the king of Civa; he has full power over the provinces, and makes war or peace as he thinks fit. Father Alexander de Rhodes a Jesuit, was the first who brought Christianity to that kingdom, where it was spread by the diligence of the fathers who accompanied him; but a violent perfecution forced him to leave that kingdom, so as in the year 1666, when the missionaries fent by the Bishop of Barutti arrived there, the Christian Religion was prohibited under severe penalties: But by their application, they have converted many eminent persons at court, and in other parts of the country. Tho' the perfecution has been revived, and attended with death and torments of the Faithful, yet, as it happened in the primitive church, the Christian Religion has increased by the blood of the martyrs. Gemelli Careri fays, these people are idolaters *, but they are easy to be converted; and when once they have embraced the faith, they continue stedfast in it.

Japan consists of three great islands, and is divided into sixty-six kingdoms. The Roman Catholic Religion was first preached in that country by Francis Xavier, and then by Peter Batta martyr. It made great progress in a short time, particularly in the city Nange-sacki, or Nangazachi, a port of great trade. The number of Christians in Japan, says my author +, did once amount to six hundred thousand. Some Bishops were consecrated, and many more designed for that

R 3 country

^{*} Tour du Monde, Tome troisieme, pag. 387. † Cerri, ubi supra, pag. 126.

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country, by the congregation de Propaganda Fide. Many things occasioned the perfecution there raised against the Latins, and the destruction of religion in Japan; but the main cause, was the Emperor's suspicion, that the King of Spain defigned to subdue him, as he had done the Kings of Mexico and Peru. Being told, that the King of Spain made use of Monks, who by preaching the Gospel in America, opened a way for his troops to enter into those parts of the world; and observing in his own dominions Augustines and Dominicans, and that the Jesuits had seventy-three houses, with several churches and feminaries; he began to fear some This calumny was infuch mischief to be a hatching. vented by the Dutch, who traded in these islands, and the Emperor was confirmed in his fuspicion, because a captain of Biscay, who used to sound the ports of Japan, performed on the shore the military ceremonies practifed in taking possession of a country, and the King of Vexory, tributary to the Emperor of Japan, fent an embasily to the King of Spain in the year 1613. The persecution began in 1615, and, it seems, the fathers of the jefuitical fociety did contribute to it, by meddling with political affairs, and trading publickly. Their hardships continued many years, many of their order were martyr'd, with a vast number of other religious and lay people, and particularly an army of forty thoufand Roman Catholics. Thus Christianity was in a manner extirpated in Japan. Had the natives, fays M. Cerri, been ordained priests, it would have prevailed to this very day, notwithstanding all persecution; however, there are still many catholics in that country, who propagate the Christian Faith among themselves, the fathers baptize their children, and many suffer martyrdom every year. They stand in great need of missionaries, the Dominicans in the Philippine islands endeavour to send some privately.

Leaving M. Cerri a little, we may guess what fort of Christians these populs proselytes were, by a passage of Captain Sarris's voyage to these islands in 1611, or

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Chap. 8. Propagation of Christianity in Africa. 247 thereabouts. I cannot, fays he *, but take notice of an odd mistake in a matter of devotion, made by some Japonese gentlewomen whom I admitted into my cabin; these were some whom the Portugueze Jesuits had been at work upon, and had tearned them some little matters of Christianity, as the saying of a few gibberish prayers, or the cringing before an image or picture came to. The good women being in the cabin, chanced to cast their eyes upon a picture of Venus and Cupid that bung there, at which fight they were immediately seized with a fit of devotion, and clapped upon their knees without any more ado, tumbling out all the Religion they had learned of the Fathers, and very zealous they were in their addresses to the two modest Deities painted before them. The business was, they mistook this pair for the bleffed Virgin and her Son, whom the Jesuits had given them so slender an account of, that they knew no difference between them and Cupid and Venus.

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or ereTo return, leaving Afia for a while, I pass with M. Cerri, into

Africa: Tho' this part of the world be larger than Europe, it contains not so many inhabitants, by reason of the vast desarts that are there. The congregation has sent missions thither, but they do not remain, thro' the bad temper of the Africans, and want of

patience in the missionaries.

Egypt is a noble country of great trade, it was conquered by Sultan Selim in the year 1517; 'tis now inhabited by Turks and Arabians, and Christian Greeks, and Cophtes. The Arabic language is necessary to their conversion; the mission resides at Cairo, whence the Fathers may send to comfort the catholic slaves in the Turkish galleys. The number of the Latins all over Egypt doth not amount to 2000, among whom are many merchants of several nations, especially French and Venetian. The Cophtes make up 4000 souls, and singht easily be converted to the Catholic Church, R 4

^{*} Harris's Complete Collection of Voyages, Vol. 1. pag. 123.

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fays my author *, if they were instructed by goodnatur'd missionaries. They have a patriarch, that dignity is always bestowed on a meer monk, who has constantly lived in celibacy in a cloister: and therefore, whosoever is once a bishop, can never be made a patriarch. Their chief errors are, they look on Dioscorus and Eutyches as saints, they practise circumcision tho' they are baptized; they don't acknowledge the Pope, but the Patriarch of Alexandria; they reject the council of Chalcedon, and admit but one nature,

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one will, and one operation in Christ.

Here allow me to observe, that tho' the popula writers against Protestants maintain the perpetual confent of the Greek and Latin Church, and its subjection to the See of Rome, as Leo Allatius, de Eccesiae Occidentalis & Orientalis perpetua consensione, and others; yet when they write to lay the state of the church before the Pope, in order to promote their own designs, they plainly own the Greek church to be schismatics and heretics, not subject to their church. This appears not only from the passage before us, but also from several others in M. Cerri, particularly, when he speaks of any country where the Greek Religion is professed. Thus he owns +, That the Christians in Ethiopia acknowledge the patriarch of Alexandria as their supreme To proceed with M. Cerri: bead in spiritual things.

There was in Arda and Nigritia a mission of Capuchines of the province of Castile, sent thither in the year 1659, by the congregation, at the request of the King of that country, by his Ambassador at the court of Spain. The missionaries met with a kind reception, but they soon went off without making any considerable progress, supposing, the King pretended to turn Catholic, only to settle a trade with Spain. Some

missionaries are fince returned to that country.

In the year 1652, the congregation founded in the kingdom of Sierra de Leone a mission of Spanish Capuchines; they set out 15 in number, but three of them only

+ Urbano Cerri, pag. 130.

^{*} Urbano Cerri, as above, pag. 128.

Chap. 8. Propagation of Christianity in Africa. 249 only arrived in that country; the rest were taken by the Portugueze then at war with Spain. These missionaries converted some of the people, baptized some of their princes, and many commons, and built some churches in their chief towns; for which reason some other Religious were sent thither in 1657, and in 1664, but Monseignior Molini, his Holiness's nuncio in Spain, has informed the congregation this present year, that this mission is wholly forsaken, the churches spoiled and destroyed, and that the Catholics there have no

ministry.

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The kingdom of Oviero lies on the west coast of Africa, bordering upon the kingdom of Benin; the king of that country, having embraced the Catholic Religion, wrote a letter to Innocent X. in the year 1651, befeeching that Pope to fend him some evangelic minifters, for the benefit of himself and his subjects. Accordingly a mission of Capuchines was settled, not only in the kingdom of Oviero, but also in that of Benin, tho' all the inhabitants of the latter are heathen idolaters, and even worship their king. Thirteen priests with their præfect were fent thither; they made a great progress, not only converting the king, but also perfuaded him to marry a Portugueze woman. Afterward they were persecuted by the Vicar-general, who pretended, they could not be there without his permission. he sent the præsect prisoner to Lisbon, where he was foon fet at liberty. That country is now governed in ecclesiastic affairs by the bishop of St. Thomas, a Portugueze.

There are in Guinea, which is a vast country under the Torrid Zone, many colonies of English, Dutch, Swedes and Danes; a mission of Capuchines was settled there in 1674, at the request of the provincial of Bretagne, who was informed the inhabitants were very teachable, and almost without any Religion. These missionaries being arrived in Guinea, were kindly received by the King of the Negroes, and said mass in his

presence.

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In a place called, The Bastion of France, there was a mission of bare-sooted Augustines for Numidia, and the adjacent provinces; but it was suppressed by the death of a French merchant, who supported the same.

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In the year 1636, the Capuchines of the province of Normandy were fent missionaries to Cape Verde, and their provincial had the title of Prafett given him; but they left the country, because they could not

live in it.

The kingdom of Congo lies on the western shore of Africa, and reaches almost to the confines of Ethiopia, It is divided into fix large countries, inhabited by Chriftians and Heathens; it was converted to the Christian Faith by the Portuguese, about the year 1490. Pope Clement VIII. granted them a Bishop; he erected a cathedral in the capital city called St. Salvador, and put it under the Archbishop of Lisbon, but the Portugueze removed it to Loanda, and called it the Bishoprick of Angola. The congregation founded a mission of Capuchines there in 1641, who make their residence at Loanda, where they have a church and a convent with a Choir. They have made great progress in these kingdoms, converting many inhabitants, and have introduced the facraments according to the rites of the church of Rome. The tyranny of the nobility is a great obstruction, who being extremely addicted to rapine, think it lawful and honourable to take away other mens goods. The people, who are rather flaves than subjects, dare not depart from their There is no place in the kingdom of Congo, (much less in other pagan countries not so well instructed) but what has an idolatrous priest, who is a necromancer and a forcerer; tho' these priests fear and shun the missionaries, confessing, they cannot withstand the ministers of our God, yet they leave nothing unattempted to convert the fimple, and do very much prejudice to religion. 'Tis undeniable, that the number of Christian Priests cannot be sufficient there, unless fome of the natives be ordained, as the congregation has frequently declared. The

Chap. 8. Propagation of Christianity in Africa. 251

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The isle of Madagascar or St. Laurence, lies overagainst the eastern shore of Afric to the south; it is as large as Great-Britain. The Dutch had a fortisted port in it, but were expelled by the natives, who are idolaters. The French took possession of the same port, and built a fort on the soundations of that which had been built by the Dutch. Vincentio di Paulo sounded a mission there by the consent of the congregation, and sent eight missionaries, who converted 5000 people in a short time; but now the French have also been expelled from thence, and the fathers of the mission are resolved to forsake it, not being able to live there any longer.

In the year 1630, the See of Rome had an account of the conversion of the Emperor of Monomotapa, made by Father Aloyso dello Spirito Santo a Dominican, who desired the congregation to send missionaries to his assistance; whereupon a letter concerning the choice of some religious persons was sent to Portugal, and in the year 1632 ten missionaries set out from thence by the King's order for Monomotapa, from which time we have had no surther information concerning

Such is the present state of Christianity in Africa, according to M. Cerri; the Mahometans inhabit towards the Mediterranean sea, from the bottom of it to the streights of Gibraltar; but the greater part of that quarter of the world is possessed by pagan infidels and schismatics; that is, the church of Abysinia, (of whom we have discoursed in the former chapter) in many things purer than the church of Rome. After all, it appears to me, that popery has got little sooting in Africa, except in some places possessed by the Spanish and Portugueze, especially in the kingdoms of Congo and Angola. But I go now to

America, otherwise called the West-Indies. It is a new world of large extent, a great part of it belongs to the Spaniards and Portugueze; the French, English and

^{*} Dapper de l'Afrique.

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and Dutch have also a considerable share. There is in that new world several bishopricks, universities, convents and missions; but if we take a nearer survey of it, the Popish Religion has made a very small progress there. I do not mean in the provinces subject to popish princes, but in the vast number, says M. Cerri,

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possessed by English and Dutch heretics +.

Christopher Columbo, as before observed ||, began to take possession of the West-Indies, in the name of the King of Castile, which occasioned several disputes between that Prince and John the second King of Partugal. Pope Alexander VI. to whom the decision of that great contest was referred, divided the world in such a manner, that excepting those provinces already possession possessions, the Eastern parts should belong to the crown of Portugal, and the Western to that of Castile.

Leaving Monf. Cerri a little, allow me to observe, That the Pope here divides what is not his own, nor at his disposal. Who gave him a power to grant it to whom he will? To argue from this among Protestants is ridiculous, and among Papists themselves is precarious. Besides, the Indians were committed to the Spaniards, on condition, the latter should teach the former the knowledge of the Christian Religion, as is proved by Don Bartholomew de las Casas Bishop of Chiapa, in his account of the first discoveries made by the Spaniards in America, and relation of their unparallelled cruelties *; where he likewise owns, That by acquitting themfelves so ill of that commission, they ought to make restitution of all that they have taken from the Indians under that pretext: and he charges them + with breach of terms prescribed by the apostolical brief, tho' King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella, to whom it was granted, earnestly desired them, by their last will, to keep exactly to it. He pleads, that the title of the King of Spain

⁺ Cerri's Account of the Catholic Religion, pag. 148. | Above, pag. 206.

^{*} Bishop of Chiapa's Spanish Discoveries and Cruelties, pag. 1978. + Ibidem, pag. 200.

Ch. 8. Propagation of Christianity in America. 233 Spain to the Indies is founded only upon the obligation he had taken to instruct them in the true Faith, as appears by the apostolical brief *; which the Spaniards were fo far from performing, that instead of converting their fouls, they destroyed their bodies, having even in those days, viz. in the reign of the Emperor Charles V. murdered above forty millons of them; and took so little care to instruct them in Christianity, that they perfectly obstructed their conversion, and fold those very idols the poor people had thrown away with abhorrence, to others of the Indians +; which, together with their horrid impieties and cruelties, created an aversion in these poor insidels at heaven itself, according to the known story of Hathney an Indian prince ||, who being faitned to a stake by the Spaniards in order to be burnt, for no other crime but defending himself and his subjects against their cruelties, asked a Friar, who was discoursing him of heaven, and promiling him happiness, if he did believe, and threatning him with hell, if he did not, if beaven was open to the Spaniards? And being answered, It was, to such of them as were good; he replied immediately, He would not go there, for fear of meeting with such cruel and wicked company, but would much rather chuse to go to hell, where he might be delivered from the troublesome fight of fuch kind of people.

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To return to M. Cerri; Spain pretends, that their King is the apostolical delegate, and supreme director of the ecclefiastical hierarchy in this new world. I shall take notice of those provinces where there are or have been popish missions for propagating Christianity, and converting infidels. To begin with Peru, Lima is now the chief city in that part of the world. It is the residence of the Spanish viceroys, and an archiepiscopal fee. Excepting some towns possessed by the Spaniards, the bulk of Peru is inhabited by infidels, who worlhip the fun, the moon, stars or trees. They are full of superstition and witch-craft, conversing with

^{*} Bishop of Chiapa's Spanish Discoveries and Cruelties, pag. 218. f Ibidem, pag. 194. Ibidem, pag. 21.

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the devil; and a great many, after they have been baptized, relapse into their old errors. They are very lustful, conversing with both sexes, regarding no confanguinity, and even sin with all forts of animals. The missionaries, says our author, take more pains to root out the vices of their new converts, than to confirm them in the Catholic Faith. Father Paul di Roas, an Augustine, spent above forty years in his ministry among them, even in remote countries and provinces. There have been several missions of Dominicans, Augustines, and Minor Observantines sent them, among whom Francis Solano made the greatest progress.

The people who dwell upon the river of the Amazons, were discovered in the year 1638, by a Jesuit, who published a relation of that country in Spanish. They worship idols, which they keep in their houses, and implore their affistance in fishing, and seed-time, and war. Many missions have been sent thither at several times, as of the Capuchines of Valencia, the Minor Observantines, the monks of St. Anthony of Portugal, and the Dominicans; but we don't know what they do, or

have done.

The Spaniards, who first conquered America, called the adjacent isles, Isolas Antillas; the French call them Antilles or Caribes, from a barbarous nation who live there. Some of these islands belong to England, others to the Dutch, and others to the King of France. Father Bretton, a French Dominican, who lived many years among them, composed a Grammar, a Dictionary, and a Catechism, in their language, which may be a help to their conversion. Where the French prevail, as at St. Christopher's, Caienne, Martinico, and Guadaloupe, the Popish Religion is promoted; and the Dominicans perform the mission. Where the Dutch and English prevail, the Protestant Religion is advanced. But alas! the infidelity of the natives, and of the negro flaves remains; they are wild and barbarous and too little care is taken of their instruction.

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Ch. 8. Propagation of Christianity in America. 255

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Brafil

Brafil is a vast country, formerly described *; it was discovered by the Portugueze, who finding it very fruitful, tho' uncultivated, by reason of the barbarousness of the inhabitants, they made themselves masters of it, building forts near the shore, and settling colonies; by which the barbarous natives being foon civilized, did betake themselves to plough the ground, and trade, especially in sugar, of which there is great plenty in that country. The Portugueze remained in quiet possession of it, as long as they had kings of their own; but when the crown of Portugal came into the hands of Philip II. King of Spain, the Dutch being at war with him, and invited by the Jews in Brafil, easily conquered that country, and granted liberty to all Religions. In process of time, the Dutch government growing too fevere, the greater part of Brafil revolted, under the conduct of John Fernandez and Antonio Cavalcanti, who having got together 50000 men, took all the strong places, except Recifo, and expelled the Dutch; who, they fent a fresh fleet thither, yet were not able to recover what they had loft. An archbishop is there; the French Capuchines of Bretagne manage the mission, the Dutch are expelled even out of Recifo and Pernambuco; the Papists pretend they intruct the natives and negro slaves, tho' I fear very little is done that way.

The provinces of Rio de Gennaro, situated in the western and southern parts of Brasil, toward the river de la Plata, were divided from the diocess of the Bay of All-Saints, by Gregory XIII. in the year 1675, and an administrator erected there, with episcopal jurisdiction. But, says M. Cerri +, God knows how he behaves, other bishops are at a distance.

The provinces of Rio de la Plata, or Paraguay, situate between Brasil and Peru, to the south, are plentisul regions, and contain several good cities, with Spanish colonies, viz. the Assumption, Cividad Real, and Santta

^{*} Above, pag. 221.

[†] Account of the Catholic Religion, pag. 160.

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Santta Cruz de la Sierra, the seat of the Bishop de la

Plata, of the governour, and other officers.

The kingdom of Chili has a very long coast upon the South Sea, with a ridge of mountains to the east, like the Alps in Europe; it is a populous and plentiful country, and has some gold and silver mines. Their chief town is St. Jago, a Spanish colony, where is an episcopal see, and abundance of Dominicans, Franciscans, and Fathers de la Mercede.

The Patagons live on the confines of Chili, towards the straits of Magellan, and have never been subdued, nor did any body venture to penetrate into their

country.

The streights of Magellan are so dangerous, by reason of their length, narrowness, and storms frequent in these parts, that they are not now so much frequented, as another streight more commodious, and shorter, towards the north, discovered by one le Mair, whose name it bears.

The Jesuits who were in Brasil and Peru, in the year 1580, began to extend their missions into the inland provinces, and Father Alfonso Parsena, baptized in less than ten years, above 25000 barbarians *; and F. Emanuel Ortega a greater number in the provinces of Paraguay and Guaira (it was easier to give them a name, than to instruct and make them good Christians) being encouraged by this progress, they penetrated as far as Chili, in the year 1593. And my author fays, they converted many nations. In 1607, they founded the mission of Paraguay, 150 leagues in length, and added to it Chili and Tucuman, with a defign to subject that country, not only to Christ, but also to the King of Spain, persuading the Barbarians to live together, that they might be the better instructed. In 1675, the Fathers, who remained in Tucuman, ran over a great many unknown places, and having erected there above eighty churches, made these Barbarians more sociable, and m a great measure, conformable to the rites of the Roman Church.

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^{*} Urbano Cerri's Account of Cath. Relig. pag. 162,-

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The new kingdom of Granada is subject to Spain; it contains the prefectures of St. Martha, Nuova Cartagena, and part of Popajan. It is a plain country, fullof good pastures, abounding with cattel, and has some gold mines. The inhabitants are active and trading; the chief town is Santa Fe di Bigotta, a metropolitan See, where are some convents of Dominicans and Franciscans. The province bordering on New Carthagena is inhabited by heathens, dispersed in cottages, each nobleman has many concubines: they offer no facrifices, but practife divination, and converse familiarly with the devil, who answers their petitions: they have no notion of rewards or punishments after this life. Father Alfonso de la Croce, a bare-footed Augustine, converted, fays M. Cerri, 8000 of the heathens to the In the year 1629, twelve Religious Christian Faith. of that order, were fent to that country; that Father was made their Superior, and his power extended to ad-This mission was confirmed for twelve jacent provinces. other Religious, in 1639.

Terra Firma, properly so called, lies in the middle of America; the air is unwholesome, by reason of marshes, and the soil barren. Panama is the chief city where the king's officers reside, who govern also Veragua, where are gold mines. A mission of the Capuchines of Castile was sounded at Darien, in 1646, and confirmed in 1649, and then dismissed; because, tho' they began with zeal, yet they had no great

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Venezuela is so called, because the chief city is built in a marshy place, like Venice; it is a fruitful country, and contains gold mines. The Capuchines of Arragon performed the mission there, under direction of Father Francis de Pampeluna, and went to Andaluzia, near the samous river Oronoque, where are plentiful salt mines; and to other provinces, where they made great progress. Five princes of those provinces embraced the Christian Religion, and by letters paid obedience to Clement IX. which were delivered by foseph de Caravantes. The mission was continued in 1667. Before Vol. II.

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the Capuchines introduced the Christian Faith to those countries, the inhabitants went naked, and lived in profound ignorance of all things; only they feared the devil, believing he could preferve or take away their lives. Polygamy prevails among them. The ministers of the devil lay many fnares in the way of the miffionaries; by them Father Augustine Villabana was killed,

in the year 1666.

In North America, New France, called also Canada, is a vast country; tho' it be situated in the temperate zone, the fummer is extreme hot, and the winter very It was discovered by the French, in 1504. It is full of mountains and folitudes, inhabited by favage heathens: they believe the Immortality of the Soul, the existence of good and bad Angels: they invocate the devil, to whom they facrifice dogs, and even men, whom they eat, as it happened in 1624, to John de Venezano, a Florentine captain, in the service of the King of France, and his companions. In 1632, the French King fent to that country a viceroy, with some officers and ships, who carried along with him several Recollects, Capuchines and Jesuits, to propagate the Christian Faith, which a great many of the natives embraced, especially in the country of the Hurons, where the Jesuits made great progress. But the Hurons being destroyed by the Iroquois their enemies, many of the Fathers were martyred. An apostolical Vicar was sent there, in 1658, and afterward a bishoprick erected at Quebec, on the river of St. Laurence. There are many churches in Canada, ferved by abundance of priefts, and in all places possessed by the French, a free exercise of the Christian Religion is allowed.

As to the success of true Christianity by English Protestants in New England and Virginia, I shall dicourse of it afterwards in the same chapter. The popish missions spoke of by M. Cerri, do them li-

tle harm.

California is called by M. Cerri a great island in the South-Sea; but it is fince discovered to be a part of the

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Ch. 8. Propagation of Christianity in America. 259 continent *: the King of Spain sent thither three ships, in the year 1611, with expert men, and three Carmelites, who baptized many inhabitants; at present it is

not known what missionaries are there.

In the year 1596, twelve minor Friars entered New Mexico, with many foldiers, under the conduct of John d'Ognati; about thirty convents have been founded in that country. In 1631, at the folicitation of the Dominicans of the province of Mexico, the Provincial was impowered to fend thither thirty Religious, for the conversion of the heathens in those parts, and to affift the Franciscans, who, according to the relations of that year, had converted five hundred thousand heathens, as M. Cerri says, whereof eighty six thousand had been baptized, and the others catechised: three of these Religious were put to death, for the Catholic Faith, in 1634, in that part of the country, which had not

been subdued by the Spaniard.

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The great kingdom of Mexico, or New Spain, does not yield to any other of the new world. It affords plentifully every thing necessary for life, except wine and oil; it has fome gold mines, but those of filver are larger, and chiefly out of them filver is brought to Spain, the mines of Potosi being destroyed. The isles of Hispaniola and Cuba go by the name of Mexico; there are two bishops in these islands, and some convents. It cannot be denied, that the great Empire of Mexico was subdued by the Spaniards, with great bloodshed, some hundred thousand of the natives being killed, after they submitted to the Spanish yoke. The people of Mexico were given to drunkenness and other vices; yea, they facrificed men, and especially young people, to their idols. At first, the sun was their only God; in process of time, they set up other Deities, and worshipped trees, mountains, rivers, fountains, stones, bears, lions, tygers and serpents. They were conquered by the Spaniards, under the conduct of Ferdinand Cortez, who carried with him minor Friars, to promote their conversion. These Monks are very S 2 numerous

^{*} Above, pag. 212.

numerous in Mexico, where they have many convents and parishes, and a great many of other religious orders are with them. The congregation obtained of the holy See leave to fend bishops to these diocesses; but when they're sent, they quite forget the apostolical See, and the congregation de Propaganda Fide, and never give any account of their diocesses, where there is still a great number of insidels.

Thus I have given a large account of the industry of the church of Rome, for propagating Religion among the heathens, from their own writers. I have been perhaps too long with Monseignior Cerri; now I have done with him: but I hope the reader will be satisfied, that at once he has a view of the endeavours of papils over the world, for propagating Religion among the heathens; what they have done in some particular

places for this end, shall be soon considered.

Only I wish the remark that Mr. Dampier has of these proselytes, be not too true. He, when speaking of the converts made by popish missionaries in Siam and Tonquin in the East-Indies, says *, As to the converts these people have made, I have been credibly informed, that they are chiefly of the poor people; that in scarce times, their alms of rice have converted more than their preaching: and as for those who have been converted, as they call it, that is, to beads, new images, and belief of the Pope, they have fallen off again, as the rice grew plentiful; and would be no longer Christians, than while the priests administred food to them. Yet I cannot think, but that these people, who have such notions of a supreme Deity, might, by the industry and example of good men, be brought to embrace the Christian Faith: but as thing stand at present, 'tis very improbable, that Christianity should fructify there; for as the English and Dutch in those parts of the world, are too loose livers, to gain reputation to Religion, so the other Europeans, I mean their missionary priests, are but very blind teachers.

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Joseph Acosta, a Jesuit, born at Medina del Campa in the kingdom of Leon, when he had taught a long

^{*} Dampier's Voyages, Vol. 2. pag. 96. printed 1703.

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time in Spain, was fent into the Indies, where he was Provincial of Peru, and spent seventeen years in converting the infidels. After his return to Spain, in the year 1586, he was made Rector of the college of Salamanca, and wrote his Natural and Moral History of the Indies. Tho' that book be now old, yet in my humble opinion 'tis still valuable; beside his Natural History, the curious may find there a pretty full account of the abominable idolatry of Mexico and Peru, in the fifth book; and of the government and history of these countries, in the fixth and seventh books. The same author wrote another treatise in Latin, de Procuranda Indorum Salute; but this is not a history of what is past, but his opinion concerning what is proper to be done, for promoting the conversion of those infidels. Some of his advices may be considered in the following chapter, and therefore I now leave them.

If we look into what popish missionaries have been doing in other parts of the world, as before promised, we may observe, that tho' the Portugueze and Spaniards were the first nations in Europe, from the sisteenth Century and downward, who sent missionaries into foreign parts, to convert the heathen, which their great acquisitions in those places gave them occasion to do: yet, in the last age, and particularly, since the year 1658, there have been many missions from France, upon the same errand. Lewis XIV. thought it his honour and interest to support and encourage them.

Father Lewis Hennepin, a Franciscan, was one of these French missionaries, who in the year 1678, went with Mons. de la Val, afterward bishop of Quebec, to the French plantations in America. He wrote an account of his travels, under this title, A new Discovery of a large Country in North America, &c. as before observed *, where he advanceth some things concerning the propagation of Christianity in Canada, which I shall now take notice of. He boasts of the Franciscans, as

^{*} Above, pag. 210.

having done more for propagating Christianity in foreign parts, than the Jesuits. Indeed every one of the popish orders labour to raise trophies to their own praises. But after all, Mons. Hennetin seems to speak little of any fuccess in making Christians of the natives in North America: for he frankly owns the following obstacles, in the conversion of those savages; as t, First, The indifferency they have to every thing: when we speak to them, says he, of the creation of the world, or of the mysteries of the Christian Religion, they applaud all we say, but they never trouble themselves about it. A fecond obstacle is, That every nation has a peculiar language, and these tongues have little affinity one with another; so that some of them who live not ten leagues afunder, must use an interpreter to talk together. Thirdly, They are not fixed to a place, tarrying no longer in the villages, than till harvest is over, which is but a small time; all the rest of the year they pass in wars and bunting: then they carry all their families with them, and are absent eight or nine months; their children then forget all, and return to their former manner of living. Fourthly, Another obstacle is, the deceitful dealing of Christian Merchants, who never scruple at cheating or lying, to get the furs of the savages cheap. This, without doubt, causes an aversion from a Religion, which they see accompanied, by the professors of it, with so many artifices and cheats, Fifthly, Another obstacle to their conversion is, that most of them have several wives, which, in the nothern parts, they change, as often as they please, and cannot conceive, bow people can tie themselves indisfolubly to one person. The last obstacle proceeds from their great superstition. By these things we see how little success the French had, or hoped to have, in turning these natives to Christianity.

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We have a larger and later account of French misfionaries sent to propagate Christianity among the heathens, in the Jesuits Letters, printed at Paris, in ten volumes, the first of them in the year 1707, and the last in 1717, which having come lately to my hand,

⁺ Harris's Complete Collection of Voyages, Vol. 2. pag. 914-

Chap. 8. by the favour of a friend, I shall make only a few remarks from them. These letters contain some improvements in geography, and large narratives of the voyages, fea-hazards, and dangers of the missionaries. with some account of the manners and customs of the people among whom they travelled, which I am not concerned to repeat; nor do I find fo much concerning the propagation of Christianity in them, as I expected. It is observable, that none of these missionaries ever put the Sacred Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments into the hands of their pretended profelytes, nor gave them any methodical instruction in the principles of the Christian Religion, which is absolutely necessary in order to make strangers and heathens good Christians; and which has been done by others who laboured in that work in former ages, and also in later times, as by Mr. Eliot, and others, in New-England; and by the Danish missionaries in Malabar, of whom afterward. There is indeed an account of great numbers baptized by the Jesuits; as, that Father Bouchet, in the mission of Madure, baptized twenty thousand perfons *. If this be fact, I know not; but to baptize those, or the like numbers, mostly of adult persons, without previous instruction in the principles of the Christian Religion, is a preposterous method: they know no more of Christianity than Heathens, and upon the first temptation, will be ready to apostatize to their old errors.

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The greater part of this collection confifts of letters from the Jesuits, who are missionaries to China, of which, I do not pretend to give a particular detail, there being as much concerning missions to that country in the sequel of this chapter, as may fuffice; and we may be fure, the Jesuits will always give a favourable account of their own affairs. Thus, Father Premare, in his letter from Canton, of the 17th of February, 1699, lays +, The present emperor is most favourable to the Christian Religion;

Lettres Edifiantes & Curieuses, par Missionaries de la Compagnie de Jesus, Recueil 1. pag. 57. † Ibidem, Recueil 2. pag. 105, 106.

gion; be fays, it is the true law, and is pleased to know that any of his lords embrace it; and hopes the time is approaching, that God will give him grace to entertain it. Thus Father Noel, in the year 1703; represents *, That in the province of Nankin, they have more than one hundred Churches, and one hundred thousand Christians. In the ninth volume, there is a letter from Father Fartoux, dated at Pekin, the 20th of August, 1704, giving an account of a noble Church the Jesuits had got built in that city, within the precincts of the Emperor's palace. In the tenth volume, we have a Chinese infcription, by the Emperor's direction, to be engraven on that new temple, and an explication of it in French. In the beginning of the feventh volume, we have a pretty curious letter of Father Jean Paul Gozani, to Toleph Suarez Jesuit, translated from Portugueze. The letter bears date at Cai-fum-fou; the capital of the province of Honan in China, November 5th, 1704, where he makes a discovery of a synagogue of Jews in that place: but the criticisms of this Jesuit are not to be depended upon, fince he acknowledges he had no skill in the Hebrew tongue +. ...

We have in these letters an affecting discourse concerning one Father Jean de Brito, who having converted the Prince Teriadeven, and persuaded him to abandon all his wives save one, which he did, tho' he had five wives, and a great number of concubines, one of which abandoned wives was niece to Ranganadadeven, sovereign Prince of Maravas; she, with some of the Bramines, made earnest application against the missionaries, and especially against Father Brito, who was taken and put to death, and a persecution raised against the Christians in that country in the year 1693 ||. We have another narrative of a persecution raised against the missionaries and their proselytes in Cochin-China in the

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^{*} Lettres Edifiantes & Curieuses par Missionaires de la Compagniç de Jesus, Recueil 6. pag. 71.

⁺ Ibidem, Recueil 7. pag. 4. || Ibidem, Recueil 2. Lettre 1.

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the year 1700 *, and about the same time another persecution commenced against them in Tanjaor †. The missionaries, both there and in other places, write frequently and very pressingly for money to be remitted from Europe for their support. I confess, charity cannot be better employ'd, than for propagating Christianity, and supporting it among insidels; the' I believe, Protestants will not be free to trust Jesuits with managing their charitable collections, lest they employ

'em to wrong purposes. The English edition of the Jesuits letters in 1714, contains but a very few of them. I have fometimes from it, and fometimes from the French copy, given fome other hints concerning things that offered in this and in the foregoing chapter, which I shall not here There is in this collection some very minute things, as the fea dangers, and dreadful tempest of the ship Amphitrite, having missionaries aboard. writ over and over again by different hands |. There are also in this collection several letters from the Jesuits in the missions of Madure, Aour, Tanjaor, and Carnate, places fituate in the great peninfula of the Indies, on this fide the river Ganges; and also a few letters from their missions in some parts of the Spanish and French conquests in America: but no account of any missions to any part of Africa, except one in the fourth volume to Ethiopia, which did nothing to promote the Romish Religion, as has been already observed ‡. It seems the Jefuits think Africa too poor a foil for their missionaries; they like China better, where they may walk in their filks, be carried abroad in a Palanquin, and honoured as the Emperor's mathematicians. This is all I shall observe from this collection in ten volumes; they who are at leifure, may divert themselves with many more particulars, as the life and

^{*} Lettres Edifiantes & Curieuses par Missionaires de la Compagnie de Jesus, Recueil 1. pag. 78. & seq.

⁺ Ibidem, Recueil 3. pag. 212, & feq.

Recueil 3, 8. ‡ Above, pag. 198.

death of Father Verjus a Jesuit, in volume eighth; a mission to the Greek church in the isles of the Archipellago, in volume tenth. But these not being to my present purpose, and lest this book should swell beyond

my design, I pass them.

Thus we see, that the spaniards and Portuguese were the first who sent missions abroad to convert the heathen, and do still pretend a sole right to it by the bull of Pope Alexander VI. yet the French have sollowed their example. Why should any nation in Europe be secluded from so good a work, which needs so many hands to advance it? Only 'tis to be wished, that they who are employed in it may be free from profaneness, superstition, and idolatry, that they may not obstruct so good a work; and that while they persuade the heathen to abandon Paganism, they do not debauch them with a blind devotion to Popish Idols, without any solid knowledge of the principles, or a practice conformable to the precepts of Christianity. But to go on with our history.

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Among all the popish missions, those of the Jesuits in China have made the greatest noise in the world, and many authors have writ concerning them; some of which I have seen, and from them shall give a short account of these matters, so far as they concern the

fubject I am upon.

Among the first accounts of the missionaries sent by the church of Rome into China, is that of Father Ricci, the full title is at the foot of the page *. There we have a large narrative of the state of the country, and of the methods the missionaries took to promote Religion, of the hardships they endured, and their success. But Le Comte's memoirs being much later, I shall, to introduce this story, trace his sootsteps a little.

Louis le Comte, a Jesuit, has given us curious memoirs and observations concerning China, in several letters published in French, and translated into English in 1698.

^{*} De Christiana Expeditione apud Sinas, suscepta a Societare Jesu, ex L. Matthei Ricci, ejustem Societatis MSS. lib. 5. Autore L. Nicolao Trigautio Belga, ex eadem Societate. Coloniæ 1617.

Chap. 8. Of Popist Missionaries in China.

1698. The prefacer observes, that the Jesuits have adapted the systems of Religion which they teach to the Chinese according to the philosophy of Confucius, seldom teaching of Christ's crucifixion; yea, allowing them to worship their Pagods. Le Comte himself arrived at Pekin in China, February 8th, 1687, and staid in that kingdom feveral years. It is not my defign to give a detail of his book, where he tells us, how he and other missionaries were received, of the houses, cities, and chief buildings of the Chinese; that at Nankin there be two millions of people, twice as many as at Paris. He also discourses of the soil, canals, rivers, and fruits of the country; of the magnificence, temper, wit, policy, and government of the people. But chiefly I shall observe what he remarks concerning the mission naries endeavours to propagate Christianity, with a few

other things introductive thereto.

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In his third letter he observes, the temples that the Chinese have for their idols are very fine and rich, but the missionaries durst not look at them for fear of offending the Christians. They have an observatory in China, with mathematical instruments. Father Verbiest a millionary had caused the old instruments to be pulled down, which yet we faw, fays Le Comte, and put up new ones of a better contrivance, as Spheres, Quadrants, Azimuths, &c. The Chinese boast of 4000 years obfervations, but when the missionaries came into these parts, they could neither make a calendar, nor calculate ecliples, nor knew the cause of them; but when they law an eclipse, said it was a great dragon going to iwallow up the fun or moon, and with panick fear did fall to idolatrous worship. Father Ferdinando Verbiest a Fleming, was furveyor of the mathematicians, and gave directions for framing brass guns. The Emperor of China and the court looked on him as one of the wifest men of his age, and often conversed with him about Religion and Learning; he obtained a toleration for evangelic pastors, says our author, after they had been persecuted. He was indefatigable in religious affairs, and had taken care to fettle our religion in the eastern eastern parts of Tartary, in the remote places of China, and in the kingdom of Kiovia, so as nothing but his death could have hindered it. The Emperor and Mandarins at court wrote of his praises; his burial was sumptuous, sprinkled with holy water, and persumed with incense.

In his fifth letter he fays, the Chinese are so ancient. that it fares with them as with rivers whose fource cannot be discovered. Their vulgar history is certainly falle, for it computes 40000 years fince the creation of the world, yet none of them dare question it : however, the Learned do not debate, but they might have had kings for about 4000 years. There have been twenty two different families of their princes, which have produced 236 Emperors. The grandchildren of Noah might penetrate even to this kingdom. Fohi first laid the foundation of their monarchy, and it was en, larged by policy and prudence rather than by force. They look on themselves as better than other men, faying, The Chinese see with two eyes, others are blind; but now, when they perceive the skiff of the Europeans in clocks, watches, stuffs, mathematics, instruments of war and the like, they grant the Europeans are not fo barbarous as they apprehended, they fee with one eye. We need not wonder at this, fince before Navigation opened a way for people from Europe to come among them, they had feen no body but rude Tartars Their paint is better than ours, they and Indians. wear filk, linnen, cotton, and cotton-linnen: their chief magnificence is in cabinets, tables, and varnished skreens, but have no looking-glasses, tapestry-hangings, nor wrought chairs; but abundance of Porcelain, or China ware. When their great men go, abroad, they are carried in a Sedan or Palanquin, or upon officers shoulders, with Umbrellas, and other marks of dignity, escutcheons and titles of honour carried before them. When they go by water, they use large magnificent When their Emperors appear abroad, which is feldom, they come with innumerable marks of respect and honour. Their government is wholly menarchical,

Chap. 8. Of Popish Missionaries in China. 269 narchical, and knows nothing of the republic; yet their laws oblige their king to use his power with discretion. He has a great number of forces, even in peace he may have 500,000 men, armed with scymitars and darts.

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Le Comte, in his seventh letter, insists on the language, characters, and books of the Chinese. Their language has no affinity to any other, neither in found nor pronunciation; their words may be learned in a few hours, but it will take feveral years for a man to be able to speak their dialect. A doctor may be able to compose a book in it, and yet not to discourse therein. They frame variety of fignifications to words and fentences only by accent and tone, fo as their language is a kind of mufic and harmony. Miffionaries had better have laboured fome time in the mines. fays my author, than in learning it; for it exercises not only the memory, but also the imagination and ear. If you have not the right tone, you may call a man a Beast when you would fay Sir, the same word being common to both. They do not speak as they write; in writing they use lively expressions, bold metaphors, fuccinct comparisons, and many sentences from the an-At the beginning of their monarchy they used hieroglyphics, and painted rather than wrote. have 24000 letters, which many of themselves know not. Instead of a pen they use a pencil, and write very fair; a letter ill cut is a great fault, and marrs the fense. Printing is of great antiquity in China, they engrave their letters on wooden boards; their paper is of the inner rind of the Bambou tree, they pass Allom on it, which makes it shine, yet it is not lasting, but subject to fretting: their binding is nice and

As to their books, the first, says Le Comte, is the five books of Moses, of which the Chinese have very ancient copies. Their King Hoamti composed treatises of astronomy, arithmetic, and medicine. About 300 years after this, they made a collection of the ordinances and history of King Yão; several additions were

made to it 1776 years before Christ. Their third book is a feries of Odes and Poems, composed under the third race of their kings. The fourth contains a history of several princes, their virtues and vices. The fifth treats of customs and ceremonies. Of all these they have libraries, but most of them were destroyed by the tyrannical order of one of their Emperors, 200 years before Christ: but the next age learned them from preferved copies, and their memories, and so restored most of them: but these new editions have many blemishes. Their principal author is Confucius, who, according to Le Comte, was born 483 years before Christ; he was a pregnant wit, and a great doctor. He faid, He was in the West, where the true Saint was to be found. From this, and dreams of one of their Empeperors concerning Christ, they had some enquiries about our Saviour, but got then no knowledge of him. Confucius's death was much lamented, and his memory is to this day very favoury. Tho' the Chinese be conceited of their learning, yet they have no skill in Logic, Geometry, Medicine, nor in several other sciences; but 'tis certain, that they had the use of Gunpowder, Printing, Guns, and the Mariner's Compass; yea, had tall ships and able failors, long before the Europeans *.

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I discoursed a little in the former chapter concerning the heathenish idolatry and superstition of the Chinese †. I now proceed from Le Comte's eleventh letter, directed to Mons. Rouille counsellor of state, and some following letters, to give account of the establishment and progress of the Christian Religion in China. The Emperor, among other things, objected to the missionaries, If your Religion be the only way of Salvation, how comes China to have been ignorant of it these 1600 years? In answer to this they alledged, That the Gospel had been first preached to the Indians, of whom the Chinese are the chief, by St. Thomas, and that, by his treaching, the offers of the kingdom of beaven had been brought to China. Which he endeavours

^{*} Le Comte's Memoirs of China, pag. 129. Letter 8. Above, pag. 166.

Chap. 8. Of Popist Missionaries in China. 27 L to prove * from an ancient breviary in the church of Malabar, writ in Chaldee, and used in the office of St. Thomas. Le Comte tells another story, that in the feventh Century, a Catholic Patriarch in the Indies fent missionaries to China with good success, for which he alledges a marble monument, digged up near Sigan in the year 1625, ten foot long and fix broad; on the top of it a large cross, and below a long discourse in Chinese and Syriac characters. The Emperor ordered the monument to be kept in a pagod or idol temple. The inscription lays down a short sum of the Christian Religion, and then adds, In the reign of Taicoum, a wife and bonoured prince, Olopomen coming from India after long travel by sea and land, at last arrived in China in the year 636. The Emperor conducted bim to the palace, and encouraged bim: Koo the son of Taicoum endeavoured to make that Religion flourish which his Father bad received, be built Churches, but the Bonzes raised a persecution; yet some persons of extraordinary zeal defended it. A succeeding Emperor, in the year 757, erected five churches; the following Emperors confirmed Christianity by their example and edicts, and others exercised works of great charity. To keep up the memory of these great actions, and to let posterity know the present state of the Christian Religion here, we have erected this monument in the year of our Lord 782. The Bonzes fet up another pillar over against it, to diminish the glory of the Christian Religion; but when the Jesuit misfionaries came into the country, they found no fign nor tootstep thereof.

In the year 1552, St. Xavier, as Le Comte calls him, came into China, in hopes to add that empire to the kingdom of Christ; but he died, when his labours seemed to have probability of success. Le Comte compares his burial (in my opinion foolishly) to that of Moses, and yet says, a Portugueze vessel found his monument in the year 1686, in the isle of Samian, which others call Sancyon, with this inscription, Here Xavier, a man truly apostolical, was buried. Three Italians affisted

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^{*} Le Comte's Memoirs, pag. 342.

fifted Xavier, viz. Roger, Pasio, and Ricci. The novelty of their doctrine brought them auditors, and the fanctity of their lives made the people, fays my author, in love with them. Father Ricci had studied long the Chinese language and customs at Macao, he spoke it fluently, and wrote pleasantly. These missionaries had the superstition and jealousy of the Bonzes, the people's humours, and the power of the Mandarins to deal with. yet they persevered. Ricci had very great success; some of the Mandarins opened their eyes to the Gofpel; the Emperor Vanli received them with great refpect, he bought a house at Pekin, and gained such a foundation there, as has fince been the support of all the missions to that empire. Court and country refounded the glorious name of Jehovah; but the Bonzes stirred up a persecution. The Portugueze of Macao incenfed against the Jesuits, resolved to destroy them in China, faying, That by the affiftance of the Japonese and Hollanders, the Christians resolved to seize their country. Upon this Father Martinez was taken, imprisoned, and bastinadoed, till at length-he died. A Mandarin, who was a friend to Father Ricci, stopped the accusation from going to court against him, and he died in peace, pressing by letters to Europe, that more missionaries might be fent. The Christians in China were shaken by his fall. A tempest arose against them in the year 1615. Chinkin, one of the Mandarins in the city of Nankin, fet upon the pastors, some were beaten, others banished, almost all who remained imprisoned. form lasted fix years; at last their persecutor is accused, and deprived of his office and life. About this time the Dominicans, fays my author, joined us, particularly Adam Shaal a German, a person well skilled in the Mathematics, by which he gained the Emperor's favour. Christianity suffered a shock by the inundation of Tartars; yet Father Shaal got favour with these Barbarians, and some persons of the best quality were baptized. Faber a Frenchman laboured fuccessfully: a plague of Locusts prevailing in the country, he promised, If the people would submit to Christianity, they Should

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should be free of the Locusts: the Father went to the highway in his furplice, fprinkling holy water, and using prayers, and, says Le Comte, the plague ceased. The people relapsed into Heathenism, but upon their confession, he performed the miracle a second time. Christianity was settled at Hamchun, and sourished at Pekin, where the Emperor did not feem far from it, making several visits to Father Shaal, but a concubine turned away that prince's heart to idols; he and his concubine died foon after. The four Mandarins who governed during the Emperor's minority, imprisoned the missionaries, and brought Religion in China within a hair's-breadth of destruction. The young Emperor favoured the Christians; Father Verbiest had great interest at court, being president of the Mathematics. The Emperor caused to be built a Mausoleum for the deceased Father Adam Shaal, adorned with marble figures. Some of the Order of St. Francis and St. Augustine entered on the work of propagating Christianity in that kingdom. Upon the rebellion of Ousangney, the Emperor employed Father Verbiest to direct the making of great brass guns, light for carriage, which he with some ceremony ordered to be done, and this procured him the esteem of that prince. The bishop of Heliopolis, with some other ecclesiastics, set sail for China, but were put into Mexico, and returned to France; yet after some time they proceeded in their voyage, and arrived at China, to perform their mission, where the bishop soon died. Mons. Argolis an Italian, had the title of Vicar Apostolical for that country from the Pope. Monf. Maigrot and Monf. Pin had the fame dignity. The King of France fent Le Comte our author, and his three companions thither; yet still they want more missionaries for so large an empire.

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Our author, in his letter to Father de la Chaise, speaks of the manner how missionaries preach the Gospel in China. He says, that Father Gerbillon helped to transact the peace with the Muscovites; that the Fathers Fontenay, Videlau, and himself, took care of the churches in Nankin and Xensi; they took care to confirm VOL. II.

old converts, and gain new ones, and left some books with them. Here allow me to remark, that these missionaries never gave their converts a copy of the bible in the Chinese language. Le Comte seems not fond of it *; and one may eafily observe among all the Popish Missionaries thro' the world, tho' they boast of great numbers of people they baptize and convert, yet they never fay their profelytes had read the Holy Scriptures, or understood these facred writings; nor does it agree to the principles of their church to allow the use of that book to the vulgar. Now, without this, how can a stranger understand the principles of Christianity? No wonder these people relapse into Infidelity, when they never knew the foundation of the Christian Religion, nor were ever right instructed in the Faith. We may hear more of the detestable ways of the Jesuits in China afterward. Mean time to return to Le Comte, he fays, the Chinese are affectionate, and like things magnificent, as processions, ringing of bells, medals, reliques, crosses, &c. the women have churches distinct from the men. I cannot eafily reconcile this with what I read in the Jesuits Travels +, where it is faid, the Chinese ladies never go out of their bouses, nor receive visits from men; and therefore the missionaries cannot instruct them. But to proceed, Le Comte adds, the missionaries have but small fubfistence, and are exposed to hardships in their travels; they have above two hundred churches and chapels dedicated to the true God; Pekin, Nankin, and Macao have each a particular Bishop, by nomination of the King of Portugal: but what fignifies a few labourers in so large a vineyard? In his letter to Cardinal Jansen, we have an account of the Mandarins persecuting the Christians, upon a decree published in China in the year of our Lord 1669, probibiting them to build any churches, or teach in public or private the European law, or administer baptism to the Chinese, or distribute medals, chaplets, crucifixes, or the like. Nevertheless, the Missionaries ventured, having a connivance at Pekin,

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^{*} Le Comte's Memoirs of China, pag. 384, 385. + Jesuits Travels, English Edition, pag. 184.

Pekin, under the Emperor's nose: but the decree being still in force, the Viceroy prohibited the exercise of the Christian Religion, August 1691. Father Gerbillon procured a letter from Prince Sosan, to the Viceroy, in favour of the Christians: but this did not stop the persecution at Hamcheou, where a zealous Christian Physician was almost put to death, and others suffered great The Fathers at court addressed the Empehardships. ror, who favoured them, and drew their petition; but the court of rites rejected it, which threw them into great grief: yet the Emperor, on the intercession of Prince Sosan, wrote a letter in their favour, to the Mandarins; which procured them some liberty for the exercise of their religion in China, in the year 1692. So far from Le Comte's Memoirs.

In Father Avril's Travels, done into English, and printed in the year 1713, I find, that Father Verbiest having desired more Missionaries to be sent over land, thro Tartary to China, because of six hundred, who had taken shipping for that country, scarce one hundred arrived. In answer to this request, the King of France sent the Fathers Avril and Barnaby, to try the way to China by land; but they not being able to obtain the necessary passports at Moscow, were obliged to return home. Barnaby died by the way; Avril returned, and wrote an account of his travels, where there are many curious things, for information of any who designs to go that road: but since they concern not my present purpose, I pass them.

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But we have information of the affairs of the Popish Missionaries in China, of a later date than those of Monseignior le Comte: Particularly in a book, entitled, Memoirs for Rome, concerning the state of the Christian Religion in China, printed at London, 1710; where the first Memoir informs us, that Pope Clement XI. as soon as he was promoted to the throne, sent M. Charles de Tournon to China, as the sittest man he could make choice of, to redress disorders there; he created him Patriarch of Antioch, and intrusted him with ample powers. He arrived at Ponti Chierri, on the

coast of Coromandel, in November 1703, and lodged with the Jesuits. During his stay there, he found the Jesuits in those parts involved in the turpitude of heathenish superstitions: one example may excite horror. The heathens there, blinded by the devil, pay the fame respect to a cow *, as formerly the Egyptians did, and look on it as a kind of Divinity; with great refpect they gather up their excrements, dry them, beat them to powder, and temper them into a kind of paint, with which they make fundry figures on their fore-The Jesuits thought it not proper to deprive the Indians of this custom, even when they had reconciled them to the Christian Faith: They judged the ready expedient to make it lawful, was, to blefs the excrement when dried, and beat into powder, as they used to do with ashes, at the beginning of Lent; with this precaution, they permitted these converts to befinear themselves with it as much as they pleased. The Jesuits undertook to defend this practice, saying, if one meddle to oppose these customs, Christianity will be lost among the Indians.

The Cardinal Tournon being fatisfied with the truth of these facts, writ down their exorbitancy, and condemned them by a censure proportionable to their deferts, and used all gaining methods to reclaim the Jefuits, who defended them. He embarked and came to Manille, where having reformed fome abuses, he proceeded in his voyage, and arrived at Canton in China, April 1705, where Father Visdelau a Frenchman, learned in the sciences of the Chinese, declared to him against. the fentiments of the Jesuits, and candidly acknowledged they were in the wrong. When the Cardinal came to Pekin, he found the Jesuits building a new church, in room of the old one, and took occasion to forbid them to expose on their altar the picture with the inscription, Adore the heavens, which they had upon their old church; but they would not promise obedience. Tho' the Cardinal was admitted to great familiarity with the Emperor, yet the Jesuits ruined all his projects;

^{*} See of this Doctrine of the Bramans, above, pag. 138.

Chap. 8. Of Popish Missionaries in China. projects; they hindered M. Abbé Sabino from being fent with rich presents from the Emperor of China to the Pope: yea, got themselves exempt from the Cardinal's episcopal visitation. It was too evident at Pekin, that the Jesuits had entered on contracts in money, which could not be reconciled with the Gospel. With all their eloquence they could never excuse lending money at 25 or 27 per cent. from being criminal in religious men, who had made a vow of poverty to God, and ought to shew themselves patterns of disinterested integrity among the heathen. The discovery of this and other frauds, made the Cardinal hateful to them. It was still far worse, in what regarded the superstition and idolatries of the empire: It was no wonder the Jefuits had the afcendant over the Emperor's mind, fince the fystem of religion which they taught, did flatter his Self-love and Repose: Self-love, by making him believe, that he always had the knowledge of the true God, whom the Christians adore, whom he always worshipped under the name of Heaven, a thing which he never dreamed of: And they flattered his Repose, by tolerating among the Chinese, the facrifices offered to Confucius and their ancestors, over the whole empire, and that no alteration was to be made in those matters, tho' they turned Christians. This was rather to confirm heathens in idolatry, than to convert them to Christianity. However, the Jesuits infinuated themselves into the Emperor's favour, by petty fervices; as keeping in order, and mending his watches, and pendulum clocks, tuning his harpfichords, making mathematical instruments, and almanacs, and directing how to frame great guns. The Cardinal foon perceived the danger would enfue, upon any dispute concerning reli-

After Cardinal Tournon had been seven months at Pekin, the Bishop of Conon arrived, and the Cardinal acquainted the Emperor of him. The day following, two Mandarins came from the Emperor, to demand of the Bishop, if he found any thing in the doctrine of Confucius, contrary to the Christian Religion. The Bi-

gion, before fuch a prince, and therefore put it off.

shop being juridically in question, thought himself obliged to make a profession of his faith, and therefore freely told them, be discovered many things in the dostrine of Confucius, that were irreconcileable to the Christian Religion. They urged him to specify the particulars: he faid, that would require a considerable time; yet on the spot, he recited fifty passages; which was no hard matter for him to do, fince in two volumes he had composed on the subject, he had made a collection of twenty thousand passages out of Chinese books, which demonstrated how far the religion of the Chinese was incompatible with the mysteries of the Christian Faith. He observed, that the Chinese admitted nothing for a first Principle, but a substance that was not an intelligent Being, nor self-existent, and so contradicts the Christian Religion, which acknowledges the only Eternal God, who created Heaven and Earth of nothing, who made man, and the world for him to dwell in. He observed also, that facrifices were to be offered to God only, and not, as the Chinese thought, to the Heavens, to the Earth, Sun, Moon, Stars, Mountains, Rivers, and the most unworthy Creatures, The Mandarins were highly displeased, that the Bishop of Conon should find fault with the facrifices which their Emperor offered, and got him declared ignorant of the Chinese learning, and which was worse, made him prisoner in the house of the Jesuits, where he was kept from converse with any European: and this was followed by a fentence of banishment, in December 1706. In the same Memoirs, page 38. we have a confolatory letter fent by the Cardinal de Tournon to the Bishop of Conon, to solace him under his sufferings. I find in another author *, whom we shall afterward have occasion to mention, that the Cardinal himfelf was poisoned by the emissaries of the Jesuits at Macao, on the borders of China.

If the anonymous author of the Memoirs for Rome seems to any no sufficient authority, I shall now offer, The History of the Controversy concerning the Chinese Worship, from an unquestionable author, Lewis Elis

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Dupin,

^{*} Popery against Christianity, by Parthenopaus Hereticus, pag. 77.

Chap. 8. Of Popish Missionaries in China. Dubin, a popish historian of great knowledge and probity. He fays*, "That affair has depended long at Rome, between the Jesuits and the other Missiona-" ries of China; the former maintaining, that the " worship which the Chinese paid to Confucius, and " their ancestors, was purely civil, and might be al-" lowed to converted Chinese: And the latter, on the " contrary, believing this to be a part of their reli-"gious worship, and consequently unlawful for Chri-" Itians. The Gospel was not carried to China, till " after the year 1550, St. Francis Xavier, after having " preached in Japan, took a resolution to go to China, " but while he was on his way thither, he was taken " ill in the isle Sancyon, where he died in 1552. " 1556, Father Gaspar de la Croix, a Portugueze Do-" minican, found a way of entering China, and of ma-" king Christians there. Father Michael Roggieri, and " after him, Father Matthew Ricci, went there in " 1580, and afterwards, some other Dominicans went " and fettled there. Father Ricci thought, that the " most proper way of succeeding in the conversion of " the Chinese, was to persuade them, that their reli-" gion did not much differ from that of the Christians; " that it was the true God, whom they worshipped, " under the name of Tien and Xamti, that is to fay, " Heaven and the King on high; and, that fince they " worshipped the one true God, the worship which " they paid to Confucius and their ancestors, was not " idolatry, but a civil and political custom, which might " be allowed to converted Chinese. Father Ricci dy-" ing in 1610, Father Longobardi, who had been thir-" teen years in that country, fucceeded him. He " had all along entertained doubts and scruples about " the fystem of Father Ricci, and his doubts were in-" creafed, upon the notice, that Father Pascio, Visi-" tor-general, gave him, that the Missionaries of Ja-" pan did not approve the opinion of Father Ricci-"The Jesuit Missionaries were divided upon the que-

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^{*} Compendious History of the Church, Vol. IV. pag. 236. & seq. Cent. XVII. Chap. 22.

280 Of Popish Missionaries in China.

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" ftion. Longobardi wrote a treatife, on purpose to " prove against the opinion of Father Ricci, that the " Chinese owned no other Deity but Heaven, and its material virtue, which extended to all Beings. The Je-" fuits of Macao acquiesced in his fentiments, and Father Palmeiro, the new visitor, gave an order to the "Missionaries, not to employ the word Xamti any " more, to fignify the true God-But the Missiona-" ries did not agree to it. This dispute being " brought to Rome, in 1644, and the question being of proposed to the congregation de Propaganda Fide, " they resolved it, contrary to the mind of the Jesuits, " declaring, that worship was unlawful; and Pope "Innocent X. ordered by a decree, on the 12th of " September, 1645, That the resolutions of the congrega-" tion should be followed and observed by the Missionaries, " upon pain of excommunication." In 1656, Father Martini, a Jesuit, proposed other demands to the congregation, laying open the facts after another manner; and upon that representation, the congregation approved part of the worship of the Chinese, supposing the honours were purely civil, and that there was nothing superstitious in them. Pope Alexander VI. confirmed that declaration, by a decree, March 23. 1656*, without revoking the decree of Innocent X. The Jefuits taking advantage of this last resolution to persist in their practices, and pretending, that the first decree was tacitly revoked by this last; the Dominicans made their complaints of this, in 1661, to the congregation, who declared by their answer, of the 13th of November, that both resolutions did subsist, and were circumstances differently represented; but this decision not terminating the disputes, Father Navarette, a Dominican, did, in 1674, propose to the congregation of the inquifition feveral doubts, relating to the worship of Confucius, and the ancestors, and obtained favourable anfwers for prohibiting thereof. However, this did not put an end to the disputes between the Dominican and Tefuit Missionaries.

^{*} See the Decree at large, in the Memoirs for Rome, pag. 88, & feq.

In the Pontificate of Innocent XI. M. Maigrot, doctor of divinity in the faculty of Paris, and of the fociety of the Sorbonne, in the seminary of foreign missions, being consulted by the Dominican and Franciscan Missionaries, upon the Cartouches exposed in the churches and chappels, on which these words are written, " This is the " feat of the foul of Confucius, upon the term which the " Christians ought to make use of, to express the Divine Ma-" jesty:" After having maturely examined that affair, published his ordinance, on the 26th of March 1693, forbidding Christians to make use of the words Tien and Xamti, to fignify the true God; to expose any Cartouch in the churches, with this inscription, Kine Tien, worship the Heavens; to assist at the solemn sacrifices of Confucius, and the ancestors; to have in private houses Cartouches, with the fe words written upon them, This is the foul of fuch a one deceased; or to say, that the philosophy of the Chinese has nothing in it contrary to the Christian Law; and, that the worship which Confucius paid to spirits, is a political worship*. This ordinance of M. Maigrot, tho' approved by the other Apostolical Vicars, and most of the Missionaries of China, yet not having been received by the Jesuits, he was obliged to write about it to the Pope, and to demand his judgment thereupon. His order was presented to the Pope, in 1696, with a petition, by which he referred himself to the Holy See, to ordain what it should please, as to the contents thereof; the affair was oppositely drawn up at Rome, where memoirs, instructions, and other writings, were presented to the congregation, on both fides. The matter was likewise handled in France, in French books. periors and directors of the feminary of foreign missions at Paris, wrote a letter to the Pope, in 1700, upon the question of the Chinese worship, and did make it public, that it might ferve to answer some public writings in France, set forth by the Jesuits. At the same time they condemned some Propositions in Father le Comte's Memoirs of China; viz. First, that the people of

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^{*} See this Decree at large, in the Memoirs for Rome, pag. 171, & feq.

China bad preserved the knowledge of the true God, for two thousand years, and worshipped him in such a manner, as might serve for an example and instruction, even to Christians. Secondly, that that people had sacrificed to the Creator, in the most ancient temple of the universe. Thirdly, that the purity of morality, the fantity of manners, faith, the internal and external worship of the true God, priests, the sacrifices of the saints, men inspired by God, miracles, the spirit of religion, the purest charity, and the spirit of God, bad been kept up among the Chinese, for above two thousand years. Fourthly, that no nation bad ever more favours conferred upon it, than China had. Fifthly, that the Chinese is the same with the Christian Religion, in all its principles and fundamental points; that the ancient Chinese worshipped the same God that the Christians do, and acknowledged bim, as well as they, for the God of Heaven and Earth. These propositions, and the books that contained them, having been laid before the faculty of divinity at Paris, on the 1st of July 1700, the faculty having examined and deliberated upon them, in feveral writings, censured the five propositions just now mentioned, by their decisions of the 18th of October, 1700.

In the mean while, the affair relating to the worship of the Chinese, was still preparing at Rome, and in fine, the congregation of the inquisition published a decree under Pope Clement XI. by which 'tis forbid to make use of the words Tien and Xamti, to express the true God by; to put Cartouches in the churches, with these words written upon them, Kine Tien, worship the Heavens, even with an explanation; to affift at the folemn facrifices that are performed to Confucius, and the ancestors, or at less solemn oblations, either in churches or private houses; nor to suffer Cartouches in churches, on which are written these words, This is the seat of the soul of such an one. This is the fum of the decree of the congregation of the Inquisition, authorized by the Pope, November 20th, 1704. The Pope did not publish it at that time, but gave it to the Sieur Charles de Tournon, Patriarch of Antioch, afterwards named Cardinal, whom he fent le-

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Chap. 8. Of Popish Missionaries in China. gate à Latere to the spot, to regulate affairs. This legate arriving in China, conferred with the missionaries, and made an order, by which he ordained the missionaries to declare, that the facrifices which the Chinese perform, are not agreeable to the Christian Law; that, in particular, those made to Confucius, and the ancestors, are unlawful for Christians; that the Cartouches of the dead ought not to be suffered; that they ought to maintain, that the Tien and Xamti are not the God of the Christians. This order was given at Nanquin, the 25th of January, 1707. The Pope's decree given in 1704, was not published in Europe, till 1709. M. de Tournon published his Mandamus at Nanguin, and fent it to all the Bishops and Apostolical Vicars of China. At first all the missionaries submitted to it; but some time after, the Bishop of Ascalon, who received it first, appealed from it to the Holy See, and caused his act of appeal to be signified; the Bishop of Macao joined him: and twenty-four Jesuits did also throw in their appeal from the order of the 28th of May, 1707. They fent the Fathers Barros and Beauvolier to Rome, to sustain their appeal, and that of the Bishops. In the mean while, the Emperor of China being informed of what had passed, forbid all foreign missionaries to stay in his kingdom, unless they approved the Chinese ceremonies. He banished the Bishop of Conon in particular, and iome others, and caused the legate to be conveyed to Macao, with orders to keep him there, till fuch time as the Jesuit Fathers, who had been sent to Europe, were returned. He was kept there in close prison, where he died in 1710. When the Pope's decree was published in Europe, fome did maintain, that it was only conditional, and supposed, that the facts were true, and that so it decided nothing: Thus far from Dupin.

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t legate Another author, who covers himself under the name of Parthenopæus Hereticus (but I am told, he is called Mr. James Gordon, who was several years among the Jesuits, and a father confessor in the year 1714, but came to England, and renounced Popery, and declared himself a Protestant in the year 1719) informs

us *, of the Manresian Harangue, omnibus omnia, or omnia munda mundis, to the clean all things are clean; which was first revealed to Ignatius Loyola, founder of the order of the Jesuits, in the monastery of Manrela in the kingdom of Valencia. The defign of it is altoget ther levelled against the Christian Religion, and framed with the greatest art and skill to promote athein and ambition, and any thing but what is honest and good, by commanding their missionaries to preach and propagate the Gospel of Christ à la mode, as we may call it, or according to every person's inclination and disposition of mind. Many abominations, even of the modern church of Rome, are discovered by this all thor, in the book just now cited, and in another paper, entitled, An account of the superstitious ceremonies, and wicked practices of the church of Rome, in the boly Week; which lie not now in my road. But shall only observe with him, that by means of this Manrefian Harangu, Xavier made furprizing and unexpected conversions, by espousing the different and various inclinations of all forts of finners, infinuating himfelf, and gaining their affections miraculously, by the good use he made of his omnibus omnia, all things to all men. Yea, all the Romish Apostles, viz. Philip Neri, Francis of Sala, John Capistranus, &c. have followed this method in propagating the Gospel.

The letter of Monseignior Maigrot, produced before the committee for examining the Chinese rites, signed by five Bishops, and seven superiors of religious orders, gives so clear a view of the wicked methods the Jesuis use in China, that I here insert it, as I find it in the au-

thor last recited +.

Call, fays M. Maigrot, the awful and tremendous name or him, who is to judge me at the last day, as witness, that I shall neither affert nor report any thing in this letter, either for sway of party, private interest, or animosity; but only for the honour and

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^{*} Popery against Christianity, by Parthenopaus Hereticus, President and p. 18. 20, & seq. + Parthenopaus Hereticus, pag. 70, & seq.

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Preface, & 1eq. " glory of the Almighty, and the greater progress of " the true Orthodox Faith. The impudence and im-" purity of the Jesuits morals, scandalously vicious " and prophane, has brought the people of this coun-" try, first to a dislike of Christ crucified, then to a " contempt, and at last to a bare-faced and open re-" nouncing of him. The first rise of this immorality " is owing to their unbounded ambition, and worldly " inclinations, which are become fo violent and impe-" tuous, that they bear down all opposition, whether " made by honour, prudence or religion, by openly " and licentiously reviling the felf-abasing and felf-" crucifying doctrines of the Gospel, and by breaking "thro' the fear of God, and remonstrances of their "own consciences: They deny the very Being of a "Deity, and the difference betwixt moral good and " evil; and have made a facrifice of all that's good, " to the idol of avarice. Hence arises the obstinate " warfare betwixt them and the true preachers of the "Word of God; for the zeal of many a good and " pious priest has testified and remonstrated against the " inroads of their idolatrous and finful practices, espe-" cially against the adoring the material heavens, and " Confucius. Thus, like people who do not like to re-" tain God in their hearts, they fet themselves against " every thing that is on his fide, and against that very " light of their own minds, which contradicts fuch im-" pious proceedings; till at last, by a perverse tem-" per, a reprobate conscience, and a distorted judg-" ment, triumphing and carrying every thing at their " pleasure, they seem, as it were, equipped with the " armour of darkness; I mean, the whole mighty " power of an idolatrous emperor, to oppose the pro-" pagating of the Gospel. They have made him to " impose an oath upon all those that design to remain " in his dominions, of worshipping Confucius, of facri-" ficing to the domestic Gods or Manes, of invoca-" ting the material heavens, and in a word, of fymbo-" lizing with these heathens in every act of idolatry, " and of obeying the Emperor, as well in ecclefiaftic 286 Of Popish Missionaries in China.

" as in civil affairs, by openly acknowledging all "the Pope's decrees to be of no value, unless con-" firmed by his authority. All which the Jesuits " make use of to maintain their authority and vast " riches, to make creatures, support friends, to establish alliances with other whores of Babylon, I mean with other monks and friars, who profittute them-" felves to pride and avarice as they do, to break and form parties, and to purfue and promote the arts of " a diabolical policy, which they shelter under the wings of heathenish authority. To ingratiate themee felves with the emperor, which is their principal "drift, they make no difficulty to confecrate the bae fest of means. Thus they have freed their whole 66 fociety from the jurisdiction of Bishops, the Empeor ror not suffering them to be liable to any punisher ment, but fuch as their superior shall think fit to " lay upon them; which is feldom fuitable to their e-" normous transgressions, unless in the case of Schism " from their idolatrous tenets; and in this, their jea-" loufy makes them very fevere against all those of "their own order, who have fo much remaining ho-" nefty, or religion left them, as to preach the Word " of God. Now, having purchased ease, riches, and " impunity, fuch as are poor, guilty or ambitious, " enter their fellowship, which frees them from pre-" sent want, and fear of punishment for former offences, how capital foever; and these being for the " most part of the choicest natural abilities, soon learn the skill of carrying on the work of darkness with great prosperity, and do not only make use of such dolatries and profitable errors as their forefathers e left them, but bring in new ones of their own con-" triving, gilding them with the splendid titles of things necessary for propagating the Gospel in China. " From fuch doctrines, and the union of fuch people " together, proceeds fo great foftness and pravity of " manners, that their houses are become finks of glut-" tony, filth, and unnatural impurity; and their re-" treats are places that nourish men in sloth, and in a se fort

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Chap. 8. Of Popish Missionaries in China. " fort of Life that shrouds, under the veil of austerity, " and vow of chaftity, the greatest debaucheries, and " most execrable lusts. The cloud of ignorance, which for a long time has covered the face of Chri-" fianity in this part of the world, has been a great " help to keep their juggling undiscovered: for, as " they with great policy obtained from the Emperor in " the beginning, that all things concerning the Chri-" stian Religion should pass thro' their hands, so they " had opportunities to make all books and records " fpeak in their favour; which being manuscripts, " and so but in few hands, it was no hard matter for " the Jesuits to corrupt, who were for many years, " even by the Popes, entrusted with the whole care of " Christianity here; 'till Urban VIII. in the year 1640, " was pleased, at the request of the zealous Cardinals, " to fend Bishops and Apostolical Vicars to this coun-" try, whom the Jesuits most furiously persecuted in " the beginning, and to whom to this very day they " bear an implacable grudge. At which I do not wonder in the least: I should rather wonder were " it otherwise; for being the flaves of ambition, " they were afraid left Bishops, who are undoubt-" edly their superiors, should by visiting their col-" leges, discover their unconceivable abominations, " and so lessen their credit. Therefore, they have ob-" tained lately from the Emperor orders to all the " Mandarins, for the crushing and overthrowing the " zeal and overforwardness of the prelates in proceed-"ing against them. To effectuate this, no stone is " left unturned, no means untried, that art, tyranny,

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"and ambition can fuggest; for they keep always the Fathers Gerbillon and Bovet at the Emperor's court at Pekin as their agents. But when such arts will not do, and their intreaties, intrigues, and stratagems miscarry, then they boldly take off the mask, and strike home, by impiously and boldly afferting, "That the Gospel must be preached in China, and the missionaries live in the manner and form that the Emperor commands, who is the head of the Literati; and aver,

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aver, They'll rather set all Christendom in confusion, than suffer their idolatries to be struck at, or the sube version of their grandeur attempted. All this, and " much more Father Gerbillon has told me very often, and has threatned me and all my followers with the ce perfecutions of the Pagan Emperors against Chri-" stians, if I should question the truth of their doc-" trines. I conclude, their laughing at the Gospel, "their burlesquing true piety, their mocking at popes " and councils, and jefting at the awful concerns of a " future life, are become as common as eating and " drinking among them. Thus, having laid before vour Eminencies fome of the most trodden paths of the Jesuits proceedings in China, which are the quintessence of Atheism, Infidelity, and all other wicked-" ness; I leave it to your serious consideration, heavenly prudence, and undaunted courage, to think upon the necessary means of censuring the faults, chaffifing the diffolute, and caffing out the incor-"rigible. 'Till this be done, the papal authority, " and that of the Church of Christ will remain inglorious over all the world; for, as Anathemas have been the foundation of the papal greatness, so they " are the pillars of it now that 'tis raifed." I am,

Pekin, August 18th, 1700. With the most profound Respect, your Eminencies most humble, and most obedient Servant,

MAIGROT.

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Tho' all this was produced, and the base, irreligious, pagan, idolatrous practices of the Jesuits surther manifested by the Liturgy of Matthew Ricci a Jesuit, who entred China, December 2. 1552; yet the Pope did not immediately, by a solemn decree, condemn these impieties, only Cardinal de Tournon was sent into China to condemn them there. The forming of the decree that was sent with him was of such importance, as puzzled them all, since it was to be worded in so ambiguous and captious terms, as might seem to condemn their

Chap. 8. Of Popish Missionaries in China. their idolatries in China, without the least suspicion of censure against those practised at Rome; between which there is so great an analogy, That, as Father Ceva observes *, 'tis altogether impossible to condemn the Chinese rites, without anothematizing, at the very same time, the very fundamental articles of the Romish When Cardinal Tournon published his decree against the Jesuits in China, they found methods to get him banished, and afterwards poisoned at Macao, as has been before observed. When this news came to Rome, the Pope was exceedingly displeased with the Jesuits, and threatned them with ruin, citing them to answer before the Court of Inquisition. Tamburini their General went to Tivoli, and wrote a letter to the Pope, which represents the tricks, knavery, treachery, yea, may I fay massacres and butcheries practifed by the Jesuits, from the first foundation of their Order in 1537, to the present time, for aggrandizing the See of Rome, with a threatning of open war against Clement XI, if he would not defift from perfecuting them +. This letter, with the military eloquence of Count Thaun, who, as he was marching to invade Naples, entred Rome with 500 horse, and among other things told his Holiness |, That the Emperor Joseph would stand by the Jesuits, so terrified the Pope, as he fent immediately Mons. Oliveri and Don Hannibal Albani, two of his nephews, who have both fince been made Cardinals, to treat and conclude an agreement with the General of the Jesuits, who was at Tivoli: who, by the mediation of the imperial ambaffador, patched up a treaty as infamous and dishonourable to the Pope, as it was favourable and advantageous to the Jesuits. By virtue thereof, The Pope was bound to confirm all the privileges and immunities of the Jesuits, to give Cardinal Tournon's Cap to Father Ptolomes of their Order, to canonize Stanislaus Cozha, to beatify Father kegis, and to leave the affairs of China as they were

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^{*} Popery against Christianity, by Parthenopaus Hereticus, pag. 138. † See this Letter at large, ibid. pag. 236, & seq. || Ibidem, pag. 254.

were in the year 1700; by declaring, That Cardinal Tournon was rash and inconsiderate in his proceedings, and had gone beyond his commission. And lastly, to condemn the Jansenists. The Jesuits, on their side, were obliged to affift his Holiness, as they had done his predecessors, by not standing at any thing which might propagate the jurisdiction and authority of the Holy See, and to procure the ruin and destruction of herefy in all the kingdoms of the world; but especially in England, by encreasing their emissaries to the number of 160. Thus the great zeal of the court of Rome to condemn and reform the Heatheniff Rites of the Jesuits in China, dwindled into nothing.

I may also observe, that Philip Couplet a Fesuit, who was for a long time a missionary in China, returned from that country, and made a discourse to the society for propagating the Faith at Rome, in the year 1681. His speech is too long to be here inserted: I have noticed at the foot of the page, where the curious may find it *. The scope thereof is, That the propagation of Christianity by the Jesuits in China, at present depends upon an uncertain slippery foundation, viz. The regard which the Emperor bath to them for their skill in mathematics and astronomy. And he affirms, That 'tis impossible to teach the Chinese the Latin tongue, or to make them understand divine offices in that language, because of the certain peculiar idiom, accent, and pronunciation of the Chinese tongue incommunicable to the Latin; and that therefore 'tis most necessary, that the Pope and Court of Rome sould allow divine offices to be performed in the language of the country, and persons to be trained and educated for it, without which Christianity can never be propagated there. How far this is agreeable to the council of Trent, and the doctrine of the church of Rome, I leave to others to judge: but 'tis certain, the Apostles, who first propagated the Gospel thro' the world, had the gift of tongues, and spoke to every one in their own language. And the popish missionaries can never have real fuccess among infidels, who

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^{*} In Bibliotheca Historico-Philologico-Theologica, Classis quinta, Fasciculus primus, printed at Amsterdam 1721. pag. 607, ad 6383

Chap. 8. Of Popish Missionaries in China.

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will not allow them the Scriptures, nor divine offices in their native tongue. The reason why Mahometanism spreads further in the East-Indies than Popish Christianity, is, that the Mahometans allow their Alcoran and their offices to be performed in a tongue known to the people, which the Papists do not with their facred offices; and so don't teach the people Christianity, but

what strange inventions they please.

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What I have already represented from unquestionable authors concerning the popish missionaries in China, and particularly, that, according to the doctrine of their church, they do not allow the people the Scriptures in their native language, makes me to give the riore credit to what I read in Mr. Fleming's Christology *. He fays, that a worthy gentleman, who had lived long in China, told him, that the Jesuit missionaries were heard to harangue, after this manner, to a confiderable auditory in Chinese: "Ye have had many very " great, wise, and excellent Emperors here in China, " and no nation can boast of the like; but yet none of " these, nor indeed all of them, can be compared to " the eternal Emperor Jesus Christ. That ye may "know this, I will now give a short, but true and " exact account of him. The world being very wicked, " and men very miserable, by reason of the tyranny " of those kings and princes that ruled before his com-" ing, especially the head of all these, the Emperor of " Rome, who reigned over the greatest part of the " world at that time, with terrible rigour and cruelty; "God took pity upon mankind at last, as finding " their state grow worse and worse. To rectify this, " he refolves to fend his own fon from heaven to sub-" due these tyrants, and reduce things to order again. "Well! at length the heavens appear more glorious " than ever before, a wonderful Light, bright and glo-" rious, that outshone the sun by ten thousand degrees, " breaks forth. Great noises are heard in the air, " with most wonderful and delightful music, and at " length a prodigious army of more than a thousand " thousand

^{*} Mr. Fleming's Christology, Vol. 2. pag. 18-21.

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" thousand millions of Angels appears in fight; before whom marches a chariot of a prodigious bigness, e all of folid gold, most curiously wrought, but so " thick fet with precious stones, that the gold could hardly be feen for their sparkling and dazzling splendour. This chariot was drawn by ten thousand bright and nimble spirits, and a hundred thousand of " a nobler rank guarded this chariot before and on either fide, being commanded and led by Raphael the "Archangel, as the rest of the army that followed the " chariot was by the Great Michael, the first of all the "Archangels, and Lieutenant-General to Christ himself. " who rode in his golden chariot, and commanded all. " Now, fays the Jefuit, here all language fails me in fet-" ting forth the glory of this great general; he was of a " most prodigious stature, as big as a thousand men, but " most wonderfully beautiful and exactly symmetred, His face outshone the sun so far in splendour, as is " beyond all conception; he had a prodigious flaming word in his left hand, the very fight of which was terrible; but in his right hand he had the enfign of the Cross, which had a fanative virtue in it, to re-" move diftempers, and chear the heart, to recover "the frenzical and diffracted, to raise the dead; and " in a word, to work all manner of miracles, to re-" move mountains, dry up feas, &c. Now, fays he, " all tyrants and wicked men were convicted and " punished by him, and the Roman Empire destroyed. In the stead of which, he raised up one Peter, a " most eminently holy and excellent person, to rule " the whole world for him as his vicegerent. " ftroyed not only the empire of Rome, but the name " of Emperor, and the very form of that government; and in its stead, he erected a holy consti-"tution, over which he fet this wife and holy man " Peter, ordering, that when he should be called out " of the world into heaven, that his chief priefts should . come together and pray to him, and that upon their " fo doing, he would fend them an Angel to tell them " what person he had pitched upon to succeed in this 66 facred

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Chap. 8. Of Popish Missionaries in China. " facred and universal headship over the world. when he had done this, he took his leave of Peter " and his bishops, and went to heaven with his army, " in the fame glorious and triumphant manner in which " he came. But he affured the Viceroy Peter, that as " often as he defired, he should hear from him by a " special messenger, who should affist him in all dark " cases, and affairs of consequence. And he never " failed to do fo to Peter, and all his fucceffors the " Popes. So that, fays the Priest, the Pope that now is. " has had frequent messengers from Christ in heaven, " commanding him to fend holy men to the great empire of China, out of the great love he has for that " learned, wife, and excellent people, to invite them to " leave their idolatrous priefts and false worship, and " own him and his vicegerent the Pope. Now, I am " one of these holy missionaries, continues be, and I " affure you, that who foever of you shall do as I shall " direct, shall, when he dies, go into that glorious " Paradise, where Christ is; and that I may know " who have a mind to be thus happy, lo I have here " a book given me by the Pope, by order of Christ " himself, that I may mark down in it the names of " all those that desire his favour: which I must from " time to time fend an account of to the Pope, that he " may fend it to Christ in heaven. And I assure you, " that all those who refuse to have their names thus " recorded, shall be destroyed at last in a most terri-" ble manner. Come, therefore, and let me have all " your names, but know, that every one that expects " this favour, must give me his offering in money, ac-" cording to his ability, that the sincerity of his heart " may be known." Thus far the priest and his romances, which, as I am told, fays my author, wrought upon a great many to his heart's content. I have given the story as I found it. If the hearers of this

missionary could, like the noble Bereans, Asts xvii. 11.

bave searched the Scriptures whether these things were so,

they would have foon found out their teacher to be a

meer cheat and a vile deceiver, and abhorred him as

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fuch; but alas! the poor Chinese knew nothing of the Bible. Whether the story be true or false, we may infer this from it, that no person should be trusted to teach strangers the Christian Religion, without giving their disciples the standard of the written Word of God to build upon; far less should men of such a character, as even M. Maigrot, and other papists represent the missionary Jesuits in China to deserve, be trusted to lead men whom they pretend to convert, into such abominable delusions.

I had almost forgot one passage, which I find in Monsieur Mont's Voyage to New France, in the year 1603*, where we read, That the French in that country baptized the great Sagamo, or Prince of the Savages, that inhabited about Port Royal, his wife, and his two fons; the Sagamo being bonoured with the King of France's name, his wife with the Queen's, and his two sons, one with the Pope's, and the other with the Dauphin's. The spirit of Popery was got into this Savage King by that time he was baptized; he was no fooner out of the font almost, but he threatned his Savage neighbours with fire and fword, if they did not follow his example, and become Christians as well as he. His spiritual fathers should have instructed him, that this was the way to make these Barbarians afraid of Christianity, but not to fall in love with it.

I have now done with the endeavours of the church of Rome, to propagate Christianity among the Heathbens over the world. If we may judge of their practices by what we have observed of the Jesuits in China, we may see, that they rather cloak Heathenish Idolatry,

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than promote True Christianity.

Before I enter upon what the Protestants have done for Propagation of Christianity, I may observe that Dr. Leonbart Rawolf travelled into the eastern countries from the year 1573 to 1576. He published his travels in High Dutch, and they are translated into English by John Ray, sellow of the Royal Society. They contain many curious things concerning plants, and the state of these parts of the world. But there is only

^{*} Harris's complete Collection of Travels, Vol. I. pag. S15.

Chap. 8. Of the Propagation of Christianity. 295 one passage I remark, as apposite to our present purpose, viz. * that in Persia there are many Christians of the persuasion of Prester-John, whom they call Amama; the occasion whereof was, that about twelve years ago, (that's from the date of his travels) the King of Perfia made a league with Prester-John against the Turks, who came to hard on him, that he was forced to feek help of strangers. One of the articles of the league was, That the Persians should tolerate the Christian Religion that he professed. Whereupon he sent him a patriarch and some priests, which had this effect, that now there are above 20 towns in Persia of the Religion of Prester-John; they have some books of the Holy Scripture, and Epistles of St. Thomas, whom they call Alrish. That these Christians may be discerned, they wear a Cross on the inside of their left leg, and give the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper to young and old in both kinds; but before they go to it, they must have their feet washed, for this end there are little rivulets let thro' their churches, where they fit down, and fome of the chiefest in the town wash their feet; when this ' is done, they give to one another a kiss of love, then they read the words of institution, and so receive. They do not make confession before partaking; they endure no images in their churches, but make use of harps, pipes, and other instruments for musick.

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It is proper now to come to the history of what Protestants have done, for propagating Christianity, and overthrowing of Paganism over the world, in these last ages of the Church; where I shall consider what has been done by the English, by the Dutch, and by the Danish missionaries; and conclude this chapter with some good things a doing in other parts of the world, for advancing Christianity.

I begin with what has been done by the English. In Mr. Harris's Complete Collection of Travels, we have feveral narratives of the first English planters in Virginia +, and the several difficulties they had to struggle

^{*} Rawolf's Travels, Part 2. chap. 8. pag. mihi 188. † From pag. 815—to 848. Vol. 1.

with. I find there only one passage that concerns the propagation of Christianity. The English made one Pocabunta their prisoner; she was the beloved daughter of Powbatan, an Indian King; she is commended, as a person of a better disposition than the rest of her country, and was well pleased with her life among the English; and by the care of Sir Thomas Dale, was throughly instructed in the Christian Religion, which, after some time, she made an open and solemn profession of, and was thought fit to be entered into the visible Church by baptism, which was accordingly administred to her *. After this, with her father and friends approbation, the was married to an English gentleman of the plantation, and came to England with her husband, in the year 1616; where she behaved like the daughter of a King, and was treated as fuch, not only by the Virginia company, but by all the nobility, who converfed with her. She intended to have returned to her native country, but being come to Gravefend, she died there, giving proofs of her sincerity in embracing the Christian Religion, and of a found progress therein.

But we have a more large, valuable and refreshing information of the propagation of Christianity among the heathens in New-England; which may give us ground to glorify the name of our God, who sends the Redeemer's kingdom to these Barbarians afar of, and may afford hopes of great things that may be done by the joint endeavours of good men, who shall imitate

so noble an example.

In my entry on this subject, I acknowledge, that I am obliged to the labours of the learned Dr. Cotton Mather, who has given us an ecclesiastic history of New-England, in Folio, from its first planting in the year 1620, to 1698, entitled, Magnalia Christi Americana.

That we may have some view of this colony, it is to be observed, that some English Nonconformists being burdened with persecution for not complying with superstituous

^{*} Ibidem, Vol. 1, pag. 839.

Chap. 8. stitious ceremonies in England, retired about the year 1602 to Holland, and erected a Church there, under the care of Mr. John Robinson; but finding Holland not for their health, nor for their purse, nor a place where they could promote Religion, and transmit it to posterity, after ten years stay they left it, Upon their supplication to King James I. of that name in England, they obtained a patent for erecting a colony in America, with liberty for the fettlement of their Religion. The first undertakers embarked in England, and arrived at a place they called New-Plymouth, in November 1620. A greater number of persecuted English Nonconformists, arrived in the year 1629, in 198 ships. God prospered the colony wonderfully: for in less than fifty years, their number in-

creased to more than 100,000 people.

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But I am not to enlarge on the particulars of that colony, which those who desire, may see in Dr. Mather's history; only I shall give some account of the endeavours of fome good men among them, to convert the heathen Indians; in which work, Mr. John Eliot, who came to New-England in the year 1632, was very la-The natives of that country borious and fuccessful. (fays my author *) had been forlorn and wretched heathens, ever fince their first herding there. Tho' we know not how or when these Indians first became inhabitants of this great continent, yet we may guels, that probably the devil decoyed these miserable savages hither, in hopes, that the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ would never come to disturb his absolute Empire over them. But Mr. Eliot was in fuch ill terms with the devil, as to found the trumpet of the Gospel in his territories, and to make zealous attempts for outing him of his ancient possessions. His exemplary charity will be the more conspicuous, if we consider the forlorn case the Indians were in; they are the ruins of mankind, to be found any where on the face of the earth; no fuch riches are to be expected among them, as have been the baits which the pretended converters of other countries have fnapped at. One might fee among them.

^{*} Mather's History of New-England, Book 3. pag. 190, & seq.

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them, what a hard mafter the devil is to his most devoted vaffals! they live in a country full of mines; we have already made entrance into one of iron; and in the very furface of the earth among us, it is thought there lies copper enough to supply all the world, besides other mines: but our shiftless Indians were never owners of fo much as a knife, till we came among them; stone was instead of metal, for their tools; and for their coins, they have only little beads, with holes, to ftring them on a bracelet; fix of the white ones go for a penny, and three of the black or blue; they call them Trampan, they're made of a fish-shell, which continually lies on the shore. These Indians live in a country where we have all the conveniencies of human life, but as for them, their houses are nothing but a few mats tied about poles fastned in the earth, where a good fire serves for bed-clothes; in coldest seasons, their cloathing is only the skin of a beaft, covering their hind parts, their fore parts having a little apron, where nature calls for fecrecy. Their diet has no greater dainty than Nobebick, that is, a spoonful of parched meal with water; they eat the flesh of deers, bears, moofe, rackoons, and the like, and some fish, which they can only preserve by drying; for they had no falt till we gave it them. Their physic is nothing but a hot house, or a few specifics, or a Powaw. A crew of them run into their hot-house, sweat and smoke together, and then run into a cold brook without any In dangerous distempers, the Powaw or Priest, a noted conjurer, comes, roars and howls with magical ceremonies over the fick; if they don't cure, the man's time is come, there's an end of him. Tho' they live in a country full of the best ship timber, yet they never faw a ship, till some came from Europe; and then they were scared out of their wits, to see the monster failing and spitting fire. They cross the water in canoes made of a tree, which they hollow, by burning and hewing; or they make one of barks knit together; if these overset, they swim and paddle like a dog, and are foon where they were. Their men are abominably

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abominably flothful, making their Squaws or wives plant, dress their barn, order their Wigwams, and do other pieces of husbandry, which perhaps is the reason of their ease in childbirth, while their husbands and sons go in troops to hunting, driving all before them. They divide their time by sleeps, moons, and winters: reading and writing is altogether unknown to them, tho there is a rock or two in the country, on which

are unaccountable engravings.

All the religion they have, amounts to this much; they believe there are many Gods, who made, and do own the feveral nations of the world, of which, a certain God in the South-west regions of heaven, bears the greatest figure; they believe, that every remarkable creature has a peculiar God within or about it; there is with them a Sun God, a Moon God, and they cannot conceive, but the Fire must be a kind of God, fince a spark of it will produce strange effects. They believe, that when any good or evil happens to them, there is the favour or the anger of God expressed in it; hence, in a time of calamity, they keep a dance, or a day of ridiculous and extravagant devotions to their God; and in a time of prosperity, they have a feast to another. Finally, they believe their chief God Rontanowit made a man and a woman of a stone, which, on diflike, he brake into pieces; and made another man and woman of a tree, which were the fountains of all mankind. They also believe, we have in us immortal fouls, which, if we are godly, shall go to a splendid entertainment with Kautanowit; but if otherwile, shall wander about in a restless horror for ever: but they know nothing of the refurrection. At some occasions, after using diabolical rites, the devil appears to them, and informs them of circumstances and events, and uncouth things happen.

Mr. Elict had a difficult work to civilize and christianize such a barbarous people; he imagined they were the posterity of the dispersed ten tribes of Israel: I have seen a book of his, giving the grounds of this conjecture; but I pass it as very improbable. The first step he judged

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necessary,

necessary, was to learn the Indian language; he hired a native to teach him this exotic dialect, and with laborious art and skill reduced it to the method of a grammar, which he afterwards published. There is a letter or two in our alphabet, which the Indians never had in theirs. The words are long enough to tire the patience of any scholar; as Nummatchekodtantamooonganunnonash, which signifies no more than our Lusts, and so of others. There is no tongue in Europe it has the least affinity with. Mr. Eliot having surnished himself with the language, sets himself in the year 1646, to preach the Gospel among these desolate outcasts: his success may appear from a letter writ by Increase Mather to Dr. Leusden at Utrecht, whereof the sum follows.

Mather to Dr. Leusden at Utrecht, whereof the sum follows.

"It is above forty years since that truly godly man, Mr. John Eliot, pastor at the Church of Rox-bury, about a mile from Boston in New-England, being warmed with a holy zeal for converting the Americans, set himself to learn the Indian tongue, that he might more easily and successfully open to them the mysteries of the Gospel: upon the account of which, he has been called, The Apostle of the American Indians. This reverend person, not without great labour, translated the whole bible into the

out great labour, translated the whole bible into the Indian language; he translated also feveral English treatises of practical divinity and catechisms into the

fame tongue. Above 26 years ago he gathered a Church of converted *Indians* in a town called *Natik*,

these Indians confessed their sins with tears, and prose sessed their Faith in Christ, and afterward were

baptized with their children, and folemnly joined together in a Church Covenant. The faid Mr. Elist

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was the first who administred the Lord's Supper to them: an Indian, named Daniel, is now Pastor of

that Church. Beside the Church of Natik among our inhabitants in Massachuset's colony, there are four Indian assemblies, where the name of the true

God and of Jesus Christ is solemnly called upon

These assemblies have some American preachers; "Mr.

30E 4 Mr. Eliot formerly used to preach to them once " every fortnight, but now he is weakned with labours. " and old age, being in his eighty fourth year, and or preaches only to the Indians once in two months. "There is another Church confisting only of con-" verted Indians, about fifty miles from hence, in an " Indian town called Maschippaug; their first Pastor " was an English man, skilled in their language, who " preached in it; now he is dead, and they have an " Indian preacher. John Cotton, Pastor of the Church " in Plymouth, skilful in the Indian tongue, preaches " to them every week. There are five affemblies of " Indians near Maschippaug, which have Indian " preachers. At Saconet in Plymouth colony, there is " a great congregation of those, who, for distinction's " fake are called praying Indians, who pray to God in " Christ. Not far from a promontory called Cape Cod, " there are fix affemblies of Heathens, who are to be " reckoned as Catechumens, among whom are fix In-" dian preachers. Samuel Treat, Pastor of a church at " Eastbam, preaches to these assemblies in their own " language. There is likewise among the Islanders of " Nantuket a church with a Pastor, who was lately a " Heathen; and several meetings of Catechumens, who " are instructed by the converted Indians. There is " also another island, about seven leagues long, called " Martha's Vineyard, where are two American Churches " planted, more famous than the rest; over one of " these presides an ancient Indian Pastor, called Hia-" combs; his fon also preaches the Gospel to his coun-" try-men. In another church in that place, John "Tochonish a converted Indian teaches: in these churches, " Indian ruling-elders are joined with the pastors; they " are chosen by the people with fasting and prayer. " Mr. Eliot and Mr. Cotton ordained them by imposi-"tion of hands. All the converted Indians, both Ca-" techumens, and those of the church order, meet to-" gether every Lord's Day; the preacher begins with " prayer without a form, because from the heart; " when he has ended prayer, the whole congregation praile

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upon, hers; · Mr. " praise God, by singing of plalms; some of them " are excellent fingers; then he preaches from a text " as the English do in New-England, by whom they "have been taught; and after another prayer, the fervice is concluded: thus they do twice every Lord's "Day. They observe no holy-days, but the Lord's Day, except on extraordinary occasions, when they " fet apart the whole day for fasting or thanksgiving. 66 Before the English came to these coasts, these barba-" rous people were ignorant of the true God, and have vet no terms in their language, to express the my-" fteries of Religion; and therefore, in their prayers and fermons, they use English words, as Jehovah, God or Lord, and other theological phrases borrowed " from us. In short, there are fix churches of bap-"tized Indians in New-England, and eighteen affem-66 blies of Catechumens, who profess the name of Christ, "There are twenty four Indian preachers of the Word " of God, and three or four English ministers, who " preach the Gospel in the Indian tongue. There are " many of the Indian children, who have learned the " Catechism by heart, either that of Mr. Perkins, or " that of the Affembly at Westminster, and can answer " every question in it, in their mother tongue." Thus far, the letter dated at Boston in New-England, July

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12, 1687, figned Increase Mather.

The learned Dr. Cotton Mather adds, after writing of this letter *, there came into my hands one from the famous Dr. Leusden, where he informs me, that our example had awakened the Dutch, to make some noble attempts, for the furtherance of the Gospel in the East-Indies, beside what great things were done by the excellent Robert Junius in Formosa, fifty years ago; that in and near the island of Ceylon, the Dutch Pastors have baptized about three hundred thousand of the Eastern Indians: for the' the ministers are utterly ignorant of their language, yet there are school-masters, who teach them the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, a Morning and Evening Prayer, a Bleffing before, and another

^{*} History of New-England, Book 3. pag. 195.

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another after meat; and the minister in his visits being affured by the mafter, that they have learned these things, he presently baptizes them. But the pious reader may eafily see, one of our converted Indians, says Dr. Mather, has cost more pains than many of theirs. More thorow work has been made with them. It appears also, that many of these Christians in Ceylon, have been made fince the year 1679; for Robert Know who staid twenty years there before that time, and carefully describes that island, met with very few of them *...

Because Dr. Mather gives as satisfying an account, as any author I have feen, of a religious care in converting the heathen, which is worth imitation of any who would fuccessfully labour in that work; I shalk go a little further with him. He discourses + of the way of Mr. Eliot's preaching to the Indians, from Ezek. xxxvii. 9, 10. Of his method of instructing them in the principles of Religion, by way of queflion and answer: of his procuring schools for them, where they profited fo much, as many of them not only learned to read and write, but some of them also attained to liberal education in our colleges, yea, took degree of graduates. He took also care to translate the Bible into the Indian language; a copy whereof I have feen in the library of the college of Glasgow. The principles of the church of Rome were hateful to him, for they keep this facred treasure hid in an unknown tongue to the vulgar. He was most unlike the Franciscan, who writing to Europe, gloried how many thousand Indians he had converted; but adds, He defired bis friends would send him the book called the Bible, for he bad heard there was such a book in Europe, which might be of some use to him. But our Eliot could not live without a Bible himfelf, and was careful to communicate it to the Indians, as the greatest honour they were ever partakers of. It is the only Bible that was ever printed in America, from the foundation of the world. A little Indian library quickly followed; as

^{*} See above, pag. 169-172.

[†] History of New-England, Book 3. pag. 196.

Catechisms, the Practice of Piety, Baxter's Call to the Unconverted, and some others. The Indians having felt the impressions of his ministry, were called Pray. ing Indians, and were for a more decent English way of living in fixed habitations. Natik was the place of the greatest name among their towns; here, in the year 1651, they, who had lived like wild beafts before, fettled, by consent of the English, a form of civil go. vernment. Mr. Eliot, at a public fast, expounded to them Exodus xviii. and they chose rulers of hundreds, fifties, and tens, and entered into this covenant: We are the sons of Adam, we and our forefathers have a long time been lost in our fins, but now the mercy of God designs to find us again. Therefore, the grace of Christ belging us, we do give our selves and our children to God, to be his people; he shall rule us in all our affairs; the Lord is our judge, the Lord is our lawgiver, the Lord is our king; be will fave us, and the wisdom of God that bas taught us in his book, shall guide us. Oh Jehovah! teach us wisdom, send thy spirit into our hearts, take us to be thy people, and let us take thee to be our God. After this, they abandoned Polygamy, heretofore common among them; they made fevere laws against fornication, drunkenness and sabbath-breaking, and established a church-order among them, as in the churches of New-England. How pleasant was it to hear them exhorting one another, from the Word of God, confelfing their fins, and giving evidence of their Faith and Repentance! Mr. Eliot having a mission from the church of Roxbury, unto the work of the Lord Christ among the Indians, conceived himself sufficiently all thorifed to the performing of all that church work, conformable to Ass xiii. I ——4. and accordingly k administred first Baptism, and then the Supper of our Lord unto them.

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Indeed the Sachims or the Princes of the Indian, and the Powaws or their clergy-men, did all they could to maintain the interest of Satan's kingdom, fearing lest Religion would abridge them of the tyranny they had been used to. This made their Sachims raise sometimes

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a storm of persecution upon their vassals, that would call on the eternal God; yea, they raised an unjust and bloody war upon the English, which issued in their own speedy extirpation from the face of the earth. Sometimes the more immediate hand of God cutting off the principal opposers of the Gospel among the Indians, made way for Mr. Eliot's ministry, of which Dr. Mather

gives leveral instances *. Mr. Eliot had feveral fellow-labourers in this work, as in the year 1666, Richard Boum at Maschippaug, where many Indians gave lignal proofs of their Conversion; John Gibbs at Nantuket, old Mr. Maybew, and several of his fons and grandfons in Martha's Vineyard. There were, fifteen years ago, by computation, about fifteen hundred feals of their ministry in that one island. In Connecticut, the godly Mr. Fitch and Mr. Pierson have had good fuccess. In Massachusets, as we see at this day, the pious Mr. Daniel Goukin and Mr. Peter Thatcher, have been very industrious to turn these poor creatures from darkness to light, and from the service of satan to that of the living God. In Plymouth, Mr. Samuel Treat and Mr. Tapper use laudable endeavours; and particularly Mr. John Cotton, who has such skill and dexterity in the Indian tongue, as the second edition of the Indian bible is wholly of his correction and amendment: Beside others named in Mr. Increase Mather's letter abovementioned. A sketch of these converted Indians knowledge and piety may be feen in the fame hiltory of New-England +, in their facred and folemn exercises: and of very surprizing questions they asked of their teachers, in Hoornbeck de Conversione Indo-

If we compare what these Protestants in New England have done, with the success of the Church of Rome in other places, we may observe a great difference.

^{*} History of New-England, Book 3. pag. 201-203.

[†] Ibidem, Book 3. pag. 201 -203.

[|] Pag. m. 262. & feq.

rence. It is to be confessed, that the Papists have a very numerous clergy, little incumbred with fecular affairs, and have the advantage of fo great ecclefiaftic revenues, as renders it easy to them to exceed the Protestants, in their endeavous to christianize Pagan favages; nor would I reproach, but rather applaud their industry in this matter, wishing we were all touched with an emulation of it. Yet their clamours against the reformed Churches, obliges me, fays Dr. Mather*, to tax divers very scandalous things in the missions which they make pro Propaganda Fide, thro' the world: by an odd accident, lately fell into my bands, the manuscripts of a Jesuit, whom the French employed as a missionary among the Western Indians, in which papers, is a Catechism, containing the principles these Heathens are to be instructed in; it is in the Iroquoise language, with a translation annexed, and some cases of conscience to direct their conversation. In the Catechism, they give odd notions of beaven, that it is a fair foil, where they want neither meat nor clothes; that they do nothing; the fields give corn, beans, pumpkins and the like, without tillage; the trees are always green, full and flourishing; the fun ever shines, the fruits are never wasted. Their notions of bell are as surprising; that it is a wretched foil, a fiery pit in the centre of the earth, always dark; the devils are ill-shaped things with vizards on to terrify men, they have nothing to drink there but melted lead; that in hell they eat one another every day, but anon God restores the man that was eaten, as a cropt plant in a little time repullulates. Their resolves of cases of conscience are also surprising; that a man is not obliged to pay hire to his whore if he be a Christian; that if an Indian steal a hatchet from a Dutchman with whom he trades, he is not obliged to make restitution. But the Protestants in New-England teach the Indians the fincere milk of the word, and give them the whole bible in their hands, to discern the truth: this education has been so bleffed, as our Indian converts, at least some of them, pray and preach better than many Romib clergy.

^{*} History of New-England, pag. 203, & seq .-

Chap. 8. lar (tic rofaneir hed inft r*, bich by ripts nary ateo be anfbeir nsof ther give age; the r nofoil, the rrify elted but cropt cales liged nat if vhom But s the bible n has fome Romis lergy.

clergymen. We could have baptized many troops of Indians, fays Mr. Mather, if we would have used no other measures with them, than the Roman Catholics did upon theirs at Maryland, where they baptized a great crew of Indians in some new shirts, bestowed to encourage them thereto; but the Indians, in a week or two, not knowing how to wash their shirts when grown foul, came and made a motion, That the Roman Catholics should give them new shirts, or else they would renounce their Baptism. Nor have we been acted with Popish avarice, falshood or cruelty, in profecuting conversions; the Popish missionaries are rarely employed, but where beaver, filver, or vast riches are to be gained. The Spanish Friars who went to California, quickly deferted it, because such a poor nation was not worth converting. Nor are we guilty of so much falfity and legerdemain tricks. Mynbeer Dellius, a man fedulous and fuccessful in his ministry among the Maquas, affures me, that a French Predicator attempting to bring the Indians over to his interest, to cure them of their infidelity, faid, the fun should fuch a day be put out, which terrify'd them at a fad rate; but the Dutchman reply'd, this was no more than every child could foretel, by reading the day of the eclipse in an almanac, which filled the people with prejudices against the offers that the French made. The people of New-England have used no such stratagems nor knaveries, far less have they used popish cruelty. It is imposfible to reckon up the various and exquisite barbarities with which the execrable Spaniards murdered in less than fifty years, no less than fifty millions of Indians: Was this the way of bringing them in to the sheepfold of our merciful Jesus? But the good people of New-England have carried with fo much tenderness to those tawny creatures among whom they live, that they would not own fo much as a foot of land in the country, without a fair confent of the natives, albeit we had a royal charter from the King of Great-Britain, to protect us in our fettlement upon this continent. likewise enacted laws, That if any of our cattel did damage X 2

to their corn, we should give them ample satisfaction, and assist them in fencing their fields; with other laws against selling or giving them intoxicating liquors. This account may stop the calumnies of Roman Chatholics against the Churches of the Reformation, for neglecting

to evangelize the natives of the Indies.

We have a further narrative of the success of the Gospel among the Indians, by the same Mr. Mather; he says *, The number of adult persons of the Indians in the islands of Nantuket and Martha's Vineyard, is about three thousand, of which sixteen hundred profess the Christian Religion; that, in the year 1694, their number was considerably increased. We have a further account of a considerable number of Christianized Indians on the continent +, and that M. Dellius a Dutch minister in Albany has learned the language of the Indians in those parts, and God has smiled on his endeavours so, as considerable numbers of them are converted to the Faith of Christ; and there is reason to hope, that what is done is but the first-fruits of a great harvest to follow.

I have seen a later account of the present state of Christianity among the Christianized Indians of New-England, in a letter from the same Dr. Mather to the Honourable Sir William Ashurst Governour of the Corporation for propagating the Gospel among the Indians in New-England, and parts adjacent in America, printed at Boston in 1705. From which take the following relation. "We shall now proceed where the History of

New-England leaves off, and lay before your Honour

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the present circumstances of the evangelic work among our *Indians*. There were in the fouthern

parts of this province about four or five years ago,

when your commissioners fent a couple of English ministers, who were masters of the Indian tongue, to

" visit them; no less than thirty several Congregations of Indians, who commonly assembled every Lord's

" Day, and a great part of them to lectures on other days

^{*} History of New-England, Book 6. chap. 6. pag. 50, & seq. † Ibidem, pag. 60, & seq.

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" for the worship of the Great God, and our Lord " Tesus Christ. We cannot understand, that the num-" ber of the Congregations is confiderably altered " from what it was when these gentlemen examined "their condition, and brought us that report from " them. Indeed, the number of Indians in this land " is not comparable to what it was fifty years ago, "the hand of God has strangely wasted them; and the war they began on the English in 1675, hastened a " strange desolation upon whole provinces. Almost " all that remain in this Massachuset province are so " far Christianized, That they believe there is a God, and " but one God, and that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, " and the Saviour of the World. Mr. Experience Mayhew, " who is grandson to the old gentleman who first in-" structed the Indians in Martha's Vineyard, and, like " his grandfather, is a laborious teacher among them, " informs us, That there are about 180 Indian families " on that Island, and that of these there are no more " than two persons who now remain Heathens. He at "this time is gathering another Church of Indians, " whereof he himself is to be Pastor.

" At the time of our last visitation four or five " years ago, there were about 37 Indians constant " Preachers of the Gospel to them in their own lan-" guage, in which they have Bibles, Catechifms, Pfalms, " and other books of piety translated by the labours " of Englishmen. Besides, there are seven or eight Eng-" lish ministers who have learned the Indian tongue, "who visit the Indian Assemblies, pray and preach " among them, and give fuch directions as are need-" ful to their affairs. The Indian ministers often ap-" ply to these English ones, for their advice about in-" structing their flocks; and some of our English " preachers do constantly spend every Lord's Day with " the Indian Assemblies, having taken charge of them. " How the ordinary congregations of the Indians are " inclined, may appear from a letter of Mr. Samuel " Danforth now before us, dated not many weeks " ago, viz. in the year 1705. he fays, They met me at

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310 " Little Compton, about two months fince, to bear me or preach; had you been there to see how well they filled " Mr. Josiah Torrey, an hopeful young man, who has

" up their feats, with what gravity they behaved themce selves, what attention they gave, what affection they " showed, how powerfully Pawquachise an Indian prayed, " (I put him to pray, having never before heard him, and being willing to have some trial of his abilities, in order to approbation for his office) bow melodiously "Ionathan George another Indian set the tune for the " Pfalm, and carried it out, and how dextroufly the young lads of twelve years of age could turn to the proofs thro' the sermon, and how thankful they were to me that I should take so much pains, as to come so far " from bome to preach to them; I am sure you would bave been much affested with it. There are some of " their congregations advanced to all the privileges of an evangelical church-state, enjoying all special ordinances; more will be quickly gathered. They " have Pastors and Elders of their own, ordained " fometimes by the hands of Indian ministers in pre-" fence of the English, all after our manner in New-England: and by admonitions and excommunica-"tions publickly difpenfed, they proceed against scan-"dalous offenders, when any fuch are found among " them. "We shall also insert an extract of a letter from

" learned the Indian tongue, and begins to preach to them in their own language. He fays, Their gravity " and diligent attendance in time of worship, with the af-" festionate confessions of such as are admitted into the " Church, makes me bope, that many of them have the work of the spirit wrought in them, according to the " mighty power of God. Their method, respecting those who are admitted into Church Communion, is more at-

" cording to the manner of the Churches in the primi-" tive times, than is now practifed in most parts. The " person to be admitted stands forth in the midst of the

" Affembly, and first makes declaration of his knowledge, " and sometimes desires information in things arduous and

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doubtful; then he makes a confession of sin, which they do, as I have seen, with tears and trembling, as in Acts xvi. and then gives account of convictions, experiences, and comforts, in which they are large and particular. After much counsel and exhortation given by their Pastor to remain stedsast, they are admitted. I would hope, that additions are made to the Church daily of such as shall be saved. There are many of them who maintain a Christian Conversation, and are to be accounted not almost, but altogether Christians. This does encourage the preaching of the Gospel to them, when we see it pleases God to make it his Power unto Salvation.

" As to the manner of performing stated exercises " of Religion among the Indians, there needs no other " account, but that they are conformable to the Eng-" lish, as has been above narrated, and as taught by " their Apostle Eliot, whose name is of wonderful au-" thority still among them. The rules he gave them " for forms of marriage, for admonitions, and excom-" munications, are not to be found fault with by any, " but it will provoke them; they think it strange, " if any neglect to pray in their families morning and " evening, and call them Matchet or wicked men. "The Frenchified Indians in the eastern parts of this " province, have, by their long war upon us, denied " us opportunities to Christianize them; the French " priefts have made them averse to true Christianity. "We have been at confiderable pains and expence to " Christianize the Mobegin Indians in Connecticut co-" lony, but they have been obstinate in their Paga-" nism, which has put a stop to our endeavours; which " yet we will revive, as foon and as well as we can. " A most exemplary Indian minister, whose name is "Japhet, has of late made several visits among his " countrymen, the Pagan Indians about the Nara-" ganset country, and God has crowned his endeavours " with fuccess: we resolve to give him all possible en-" couragement. We have left no stone unturned, that " we might obtain some able and faithful missionaries X 4

" for the five nations, that are fome hundred of miles " diftant from us to the Westward; all that we have is hitherto accomplished is, that we have supported " and rewarded, and at this day continue to do, the pains of feveral Dutch ministers, who proceed as far as they can in communicating the knowledge of "God and Christ unto these distant Savages; and of " late there has been some desirable success of their " ministry. The main support we have had for the expensive part of this work, has been from the revenues remitted thither by the Honourable Corpo-" ration for propagating the Gospel among the Indians; the liberalities of pious men among ourselves has also " been employ'd this way; upon many occasions, of particular gentlemen in this country have often de-" vised liberal things to promote Christianity among the Indians. The studies of your Commissioners are " now engaged more particularly, upon the intentions " of bringing the Indians into the most compact · English circumstances that can be proposed; but this " must be a work of time. In the mean while, tho' we could wish the evangelical work among the Indians had leffer difficulties to clog it, yet we have " reason to be glad, that so much Christianity and " Prosperity does attend it. As the conversion of the " natives to our holy Religion, was one special thing " propounded by these good men who first planted " this country, when a waste and vast wilderness; " fo the falvation of many natives that have been con-" verted unto God, has been richly worth all the " pains and costs therein expended." So far concerning propagating Christianity among the Heathens in New-England.

Before I conclude the history of what has been done by the English, for propagating the Gospel among the Heathen in these last ages, I shall observe, That there is an account of the Society for propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, established by the Royal Charter of King William III. with their proceedings, and hopes of continued progress under the reign of Queen Anne, printed

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printed at London in 1706. Where we find, that there was an Ordinance of Parliament in July 1649, for promoting and propagating the Gospel of Jesus Christ in New-England; that in 1661, King Charles II. did incorporate feveral persons under the name of the Company for Propagation of the Gospel in New-England, and parts adjacent. In the year 1685 *, Sir Lionel Tenkins, by his last will and testament, gives a foundation for two fellows in Oxford, to take on them the Orders of Priesthood, and go to sea in his Majesty's Fleet, or when called by the Lord Bishop of London, that they go into any of his Majesty's Plantations, and there take on them the cure of Souls. The Honourable Robert Boyle Esquire, by his last will +, July 18. 1691, " over and above the fum of 300 l. given towards that " piety, gives 100 l. more to that corporation for " the instruction of poor Indian converts; and, after " debts and legacies, appoints the relidue of his estate " to be laid out, for want of other direction, to chari-" table uses: he does chiefly recommend the laying " out of the greatest part of the same for the advance-" ment and propagation of the Christian Religion among " Infidels.— And when, by a codicil, he fettled " an annual falary for some learned divine or preach-"ing minister for ever, to preach eight fermons in " the year, for proving the Christian Religion against " notorious Infidels, he does require, that the faid " preacher shall be affifting to all companies, and en-" couraging to them in any undertaking for propaga-" ting the Christian Religion in Foreign Parts." The Royal Charter for erecting the Society for propagation of the Gospel, was dated June 16. 1701 ||, with rules for their meetings and proceedure, and powers to them to receive subscriptions, and to collect money contributed for the faid purpose. The Society found the English colonies in America to be extended 1200 miles in length, under ten several governments; but in some of these, there was no provision for ministers, and, in

^{*} Account of the Society for propagating the Gospel, pag. 7. † Ibidem, pag. 9. || Ibidem, pag. 15.

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all, fewer than the instruction of the people required; and therefore did fend over Pastors to exercise their ministry, in such places where they might be most useful. Upon Queen Anne's accession to the Throne, in answer to the Society's Address *, She promised to be always ready to do her part towards promoting and encouraging so good a work. Upon this encouragement, the Society fent feveral Divines and Students, whose defignations we have in the faid printed account, to labour in several parts of the English Plantations in America, with competent salaries, distributing Bibles, and Common-Prayer Books, and giving several fruits of their bounty, and tokens of respect to other missionaries. They received also accounts from their correspondents, of the fuccess of those they employ'd among the Indians near New-York, and the Five Nations bordering upon it; and particularly from M. Lyrius and Dellius, two Dutch Paftors who laboured in that work. after all, the vagrant rambling condition of the Indians, the arts of the French Jesuits among them, and the innate prejudices these natives have against the English for unjust encroachments upon their lands, (which makes them not stand to say, They cannot believe we wish them a place in heaven, when we deny them a place upon earth; with other things of that nature) do very much obstruct the success of so good a work.

Mean time 'tis proper to observe, that the English have a great trade in the East-Indies, and many forts, sactories, and settlements there. Queen Elizabeth granted the first patent for erecting that East-India Company, on the 31st of December 1600; the Charter it self may be seen in Mr. Harris's compleat Collection of Voyages and Travels, Vol. I. † and several other Charters granted to that Company, by King Charles and James II. and to the new East-India Company by King William III. with the heads of agreement between the two companies,

^{*} Account of the Society for propagating the Gospel, pag. 31, & feq.

⁺ Harris's Collection, Vol. I. pag. 57, & feq.

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companies, and the Charter of fettlement granted upon the faid agreement, in the Appendix to Vol. II. * By the by, that Collection of Mr. Harris's is a great and very valuable work, but has very little in it, fo far as I have observed, concerning the Propagation of Christianity. There we have the journals and narratives of the English East-India merchants, admirals, and officers, from the first erection of that company to the year 1620. Ormus on the coast of Persia was taken from the Portugueze by the English, on the 25th of April 1622, where they have a great trade. They have also a noble fettlement at Surat, at Fort St. George, and a rich trade in the Gulph of Bengala, and in the Port and Island of Bombay, (which came into the hands of the King of England, by the marriage of Queen Catharine of Portugal, and King Charles II. gave it to the East-India + Company) and in feveral other places of the East-Indies; but have been stripped of Amboyna in the year 1618, and of their trade and fettlements in the Banda islands in the year 1616 |, by the Dutch, and thereby deprived of the trade of nutmegs, cloves, mace, and some others of that kind. But my design does not oblige me to enlarge upon these affairs relating to commerce; it appears, that in these forts and settlements the English have had good opportunities to promote Christianity among the Heathen, and to overthrow Paganism; but what they have done in this important affair has not occurred to me, and I dare not infert any thing in this history without sufficient vouchers. They feem of late to have this matter more at heart, as appears by a letter of the reverend Mr. Stevenson, chaplain to the East-India company, which shall be afterward noticed.

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Harris's Collection, Vol. 1. pag. 189.

^{*} Harris's Collection, Vol. 2. Appendix, pag. 45, to—56. † Of the Governours of Bombay, their Conduct and Severities, particularly of Mr. Child, see Captain Hamilton's new Account of the East-Indies, Vol. 1. Chap. 17—20. and of Fort St. George, see Ibid. Chap. 29.

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I go now to discourse of the Propagation of Christianity by the Dutch: but before I enter upon that subject, 'tis proper to observe, how, and at what time they obtained to large territories as they now possess in the East-Indies. In order to this, we must look to the reign of Philip II. King of Spain, he having seized Portugal in the year 1580, and annexed the same to the crown of Spain, he and his successors continued to possess it to the year 1640, and thereby had a pretended right to all the Portugueze conquests in the Indies. The Dutch having thrown off the Spanish yoke in the Netherlands, and being about that time at war with this King Philip, in defence of their Religion and Liberties, the Spaniards cut off their trade to the several ports of Spain, seized and clapt up their merchants in prisons and gallies, and confiscated their goods and effects whereever they could find them. In this fituation of affairs the Dutch conceived, that by the trade of the East-Indies they might enrich themselves and weaken their enemies, by depriving them of that treasure that supported the war: to this end, they established an East-India company in the year 1597. Manuel di Faria speaks of their first attempts with a kind of indignation, faying *, About this time came first into India, the scourge of the Portugueze pride and covetousness; for in the month of September news was brought to Goa, that the two first Holland ships which durst cut those seas, had been in the port of Titangone, and were bound for the island Sunda. These two ships were afterwards destroyed by the Portugueze; yet this loss did not hinder the Dutch in the following year to fet out a squadron of eight ships, under their Admiral Cornelius Neque of Amsterdam, who made a prosperous voyage. A great many more fuccessful voyages and settlements of the Dutch may be read in Mr. Harris's complete Collection of Voyages and Travels +. In short, they obtained great factories, colonies, forts, and settlements in Ceylon, Java, Suma-

^{*} Portugueze Asia, Tom. III. pag. 96. + Vol. 1. from pag. 189, to 224.

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tra, the Moluccoes, Banda, and other islands; yea, extended their trade even to the isles of Japan, and engrossed almost the whole trade of nutmegs, cloves, mace, spices, and many other fine things to themselves.

In these large settlements, I wish I could give a full account of what they have done to propagate Christianity, and overthrow Paganism. If what I am to offer, after some enquiry, be lame, 'tis for want of

better information.

I find in Ephraim Paget's Christianography *, That the company of the East-Indies, under the States of the Netherlands, bave divers Plantations; as in Batavia, a city built by them in Java Major, where they have three Churches, in two of which are sermons preached in the Dutch tongue; and in the other, in the Malacca or native language. In Amboyna they have one church, and two ministers serving in it. In the isle of Herisoria, there is one church, and one minister in it. In the isles of Banda, as particularly in the isle Nero, one church and one minister. In Moluvo, three churches and ministers serving in them. In Makijion one. In Tidore one. In the coast of Coromandel, and in Palipatan one. In Surat under the Emperor of Mogul one. Moreover, in China, and in the isle of Formosa, and in the isle of Trywan, one as before. In Sincan one. In Japan they have one minister, and one church. Moreover, the said company maintaineth in East-India seven schools, in which, the children of Pagans that resort thither, have a pound of rice a day allowed them for their maintenance.

In the isle of Formosa, Mr. Robert Junius, sometime of Delpht in Holland, was nominated by the honoured Senate of the United Provinces, for the conversion of the Indians in that island; who accordingly undertook the charge, went over to the place, bestowed much pains in laying the ground-work and principles of religion among them, so as, of persons grown up to years of discretion in that isle, sive thousand nine hundred of both sexes gave their names to Christ, who professing

their

^{*} Christianography, in Folio, pag. 275. printed at London, 1674.

their faith, and giving proper Answers to Questions propounded out of the Word of God, were baptized by him. He appointed School-masters to instruct others, and gained six hundred scholars to read and write; he collected the chief heads of religion, and composed several prayers, and translated certain psalms into the Formosan language. This was done mostly in the Northern parts of the island; in the Southern part he also planted churches in twenty-three towns, and promoted the worship of the true God among them. At last, having set divers pastors over them, being grown weak and unserviceable in body, and desiring to see his aged mother, and native country, he returned home*

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The learned John Leusden, Professor of Hebrew at Utrecht about the end of the last Century, produceth feveral letters from his correspondents, which give the following account of the propagation of Christianity by the Dutch in the East Indies. Mr. Herman Specht, Minister of the Gospel at Colombo, writes, That in the kingdom of Jaffanapatnam, under which Manaar is comthended, but even Manaar being excepted, there are, according to the last Computation, and the List thence sent to us, one bundred, forty-one thousand, four bundred and fifty-fix Christians, who have five Pastors to take care of them. The fame Mr. Specht, in another letter bearing date at Colombo, January 6th, 1688, fays, The number of converted Indians, who have embraced Christianity, is in the space of four years greatly increased; for the kingdom of Jassanapatnam, subject only to the Dutch East-India Company, bath two hundred, seventy-eight thousand, seven bundred and fifty-nine inbabitants: Among whom there are Indians professing to h Christians one hundred, eighty thousand, three hundred and fixty-four +. In another letter it is faid, The state of the church is the same as when I wrote formerly; the Mala. bar youths, who are trained up in the college, are diligent, and make good progress in learning the Dutch tongue; so at in the space of one year they are able to read and write it

^{*} Turner's History of remarkable Providences, chap. 62. pag. 73. † Vide Mastricht's Theologica Theo-Practica, pag. 1054.

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that language, and to repeat their prayers and questions out of Vorstius's catechism, and to translate them from Dutch into Malabaric: they also sing psalms in our church. I hope God will give them his grace, and fill them with his holy Spirit, so as these youths in due time may be blessed instruments to propagate his name among the heathens. I heartily wish all this may be true. Mean time, we may remark with Mr. Mather, that one of the Indians converted in New England, hath cost them more pains than a great number that have been thus

gained by the Dutch.

By a letter from Mr. Adrian May, Minister of the Gospel, and Prefect of the feminary at Jaffanapatnam, dated the 22d of January 1692, and by another letter from Mr. Francis Valentine of Dort, Minister at Amboyna, dated there, June 4th, 1686, we are informed, That not only is there so remarkable a conversion of the Indians in Ceylon, but also in Amboyna, many both Mahometans and Gentiles turn Christians; for, says he, it pleased God to send me to Amboyna in the East Indies; in the chief city there, Cornelius Vander Sluyts of Utrecht, who is not nnk won to you, told me, that he did feed with the Word of God thirty thousand persons, who by his ministry had been reclaimed from Mahometanism and Paganism, so as at one time, about one hundred infants were baptized, who, when they come to years, do give laudable evidence of their diligence and piety. Here religion and learning in schools does flourish; God is known and worspipped among the Heathens; so as leaving the Deities their fathers served, the poor superstitious people of Amboyna acknowledge the true God, and worship him. Tea, the Mahometans feek to be baptized, and chearfully offer themselves to Christ, and do not refuse to obey his laws. For these accounts we are obliged to the learned Mr. Leusden, let us see what we can learn from others.

In a curious and valuable collection of learned treatifes, printed lately at Amsterdam, in several volumes, the title whereof you have at the bottom of the page *,

^{*}Bibliotheca Historico-Philologico-Theologica, Classis Tertiz, pag. 917, & seq.—

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we have a letter to John Tseetsi, by Jacob Vischer, where he writes, That in the island of Sumatra, as big as Germany, and at the castle of Badan, where he was employed to administer sacraments, and well rewarded for his pains, there being many to be baptized who gave him great gifts; they did not receive the Lord's Supper but once in two years, and to them be was very acceptable: be learned many to read and pray; be ordained deacons and elders; provided golden cups for administring the communion, and got teachers to instruct youth from the neighbouring isles. He fays, ships full of Heathens come here, who willingly receive the Christian Religion, bringing gifts in gold and precious stones, which on their knees they offer to ministers of the Gospel. This Country, adds he, may be called the Ophir of Solomon, for here is plenty of gold, &c. The letter bears date at Batavia in the East Indies, the 21st of May 1718.

In another volume of the fame learned collection, we have another letter from the fame laborious Jacob Vischer *, concerning the present state of Religion in the East-Indies, where are many things which regard the condition of Paganism in those countries; which I here pass, because I have insisted upon them in the former chapter. He observes, "That in the East-Indian

" islands, as in Sumatra, Java, and Celebes, where the kingdom of Macassar is of greatest power, the

" Mahometan Religion prevails, which cannot be easily rooted out of their minds, who are too much ad-

"dicted to carnal pleasures; and also the empire of the Great Mogul, Persia, and some adjacent places

" are infected with that fect. But in the territories

"which border upon the fea, the most part are heathen idolaters; of whom the principal are, Malacca,

"Siam, Bengala, Coromandel, Malabar, and Guza-

" ratta or Cambodia.

"But if we look to the state of the Protestant Re"formed Religion, this prevails, says be, in these

" countries where our Dutchmen have power. Ar

^{*} Bibliotheca Historico-Philologico-Theologica, Classis Quintz, Amstelodami 1721, pag. 715——724.

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" lawful.

in no place will we find more Christians, than in the " isles of Amboyna, Cariophyllophoro, Banda, Myristica, " Ternate, and the neighbouring Moluccoes, in which "the greater part of strangers are converted to the " true God. In Batavia there are many Christians, "whose number, with those in the neighbouring cities " and villages, exceeds 100,000. Here is the feat. " here the empire of the Hollander, and of the gover-" nour of all the Dutch East-Indies; who exceeds " many kings in power and authority in kingdoms " and dominions. Here are rich houses and palaces, " most pleasant gardens, and an immense treasure of " riches, with which few cities in Europe can compare. "Here are two churches, where are fermons in the " Dutch; two in the Portugueze, and two in the " Malaic tongue, which is a daughter of the Ara-" bic. Here are twelve, and fometimes more Pastors " of the word, each of them having a stipend of 225 "floring a month; whereas others out of Holland, " have only 200. In the island of Ceylon, that produces " abundance of cinnamon, the number of Christians of " the reformed Religion daily increases; without doubt, "there are some hundred thousands of them there. " who have given their names to Christ."

There is but one other passage in this letter, that I shall take notice of: Mr. Vischer speaking of the Christians of St. Thomas in Malabar, of whom we have discoursed more fully in the former chapter, says, "That the Portugueze being Papists, after they had " conquered fo large territories in the East-Indies, were " abhorred by these Christians, yet they did draw some " of them by force, others by rewards, unto their fide; " till at last, the Dutch having overcome the Portu-" gueze, and expelled them out of that country, al-"lowed the Christians of St. Thomas free liberty to " exercise their own Religion, which does for most " part agree with the Reformed : for they dont't wor-" ship images; they deny Transubstantiation; they "give to Laics wine mix'd with water in the Lord's "Supper; and affert the marriage of the priefts is lawful. Some of them are Nestorians, others are Eutychians, and most of them affirm the Holy Ghost or proceeds only from the Father. The number of these Christians in Malabar, exceeds 100,000 perof sons, of whom many are rich merchants." This letter is dated at Couchin, the last of October 1720.

We have distinct accounts of the Propagation of the Gospel among the Heathens in the East-Indies, by the Danish missionaries; their zeal and piety deserves commendation, and may be a pattern to those who shall afterward travel in the like work: and therefore, tho' the papers concerning this affair be in feveral hands, yet I shall here give an abstract of them.

The first account I have seen thereof, is in a pamphlet, entitled, The Propagation of the Gospel in the East; translated from high Dutch, and printed at London in 1709, where we find, that in the year 1705, Frederic IV. King of Denmark, after he had confidered a motion made him by one of his chaplains, resolved upon fending some missionaries to Tranquebar, situate on the coast of Coromandel in the East-Indies, to attempt the conversion of the Malabar Heathens. In order to this, he made application to the professors of divinity in Hall, a most flourishing University, to fupply his Majesty with such persons as should be thought fit to undertake a defign of that importance. Mr. Bartholomew Ziegenbalg, and Mr. Henry Plutsch refolved to go upon fo difficult an errand; for fo it might be looked upon, confidering how little had been done hitherto by Protestants, and what untrodden paths and unknown difficulties, they might be obliged to press through. The design did not end with these two the harvest being great, so few hands could not may nage it. Three more missionaries were sent after them, who arrived at the Cape of Good Hope, in April 1709 But the two already named, embarked at Copenbagen, November 29, 1705. and arrived at the faid Cape, the 23d of April following. Thence they departed, with many fervent wishes of such as were friends to the de ign

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fign, and, after many hardships, landed at Tranquebar in the East-Indies, on the 9th of July 1706. they were aboard their ship, they applied themselves to the study of the Portugueze and Malabaric languages, the former being of as extensive use as the latter, in the The missionaries being arrived, by the East-Indies. help of a Malabar who had ferved the East-India company, and was skilled in the European languages, they acquired fuch skill, as to be able to preach both in the Portugueze and Malabar tongues. One Modalipa a Malabar gentleman, was their first convert from Paganism, and after him, two others, whom they took into their fervice, who were willing to be instructed in the principles of Christianity; and in a little time they baptized five Heathens in the Danish Church.

By the way we may observe, that Tranquebar *, where the missionaries laboured, has been in the hands of the Danes these 80 years, and is by them considerably improved; it was but a finall village, but 'tis now a populous town, furrounded with itrong walls, and provided with a good Fortaleza or Citadel. There are three Christian Churches in it, a Danish Church for the use of that nation, the Jerusalem Church, for the converted Malabarians; and another belonging to the Papifts. There is befides, a large Mosque built by the Mahometans, and five huge Pagods frequented by the Malabar Heathens. Some of the adjacent towns and villages, fifteen in number, are subject to the Danish government. The largest of these is Borejar, containing almost as many inhabitants as Tranquebar it self, and Tilliar a fine large town; the rest of the villages are not fo populous. Thro' all thefe, the Danish mishonaries preached the Gospel.

Another pamphlet, giving account of the progress of these missionaries, is printed in the year 1710. They gain + more and more ground among the Heathens in Malabar; God opened a door to speak the mysteries of Christ, tho' his servants meet with a deal of oppo-

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^{*} Propagation of the Gospel in the East, part 3. pag. 3. † Ibidem, part 2. pag. 4. & sequentibus.

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fition. However, their congregation is increased at prefent, to above one hundred; and they have hopes, that there will be a confiderable addition in a short time. They tell us, that the Malabarians did not only. refort from very distant places, to hear the word preached in their own language, but had also many private conferences with the Christian missionaries, upon the subject of the Salvation of their Souls. Mr. Ziegenbalg, who is the greatest proficient in the Malabar tongue, has fent over several treatifes composed by himfelf in that language, bearing the following titles: Twenty fix Sermons, preached at Jerusalem Church, upon all the Articles of the Christian Religion. A Draught of the examination of such as are to be baptized. A book of Pfalms usually sung in our Churches. As for the outfide of these books, they are of a quite different dress from those in Europe; there is neither paper nor leather, pen nor ink made use of; the characters, by the help of iron tools are impressed on a fort of leaves of a certain tree, much like a palm tree; at the end of every leaf a hole is made, and thro' the hole a ftring is drawn, whereby they are kept together, but must be untied when ever the prints of these characters are to be read. The missionaries designed to solicit the King of Tanjour, for liberty to travel freely in his dominions, and to preach the Gospel of Christ to such of the Heathens as are willing to receive it *; but were obliged to lay aside this design, being informed, that no fuch address will be received, except it be accompanied with great gifts and prefents, which they are not able to offer. But they entered on a journey to Madras, January 7, 1710. when Mr. Ziegenbalg's congregation were afraid of his leaving of them, they intreated him with tears in their eyes not to quit them, but to return as foon as possible, which he promised to Last new year's day, he wrote a pretty long letter to the Heathens in Malabar, laying down the most proper means for their real conversion to God, and inviting them to espouse the interest of their souls, while

^{*} Propagation of the Gospel, &c. part 2. pag. 19.

it was brought fo near their doors: he transcribed copies of this letter, and dispersed the same among the Heathens, with the Gospel of St. Matthew; and a small treatise containing the Principles of Christianity, presenting it even to the Bramans, and talking with the Heathen about these things, almost every hour.

But I cannot enlarge on all the particulars.

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The fame author also informs us *, that their new planted congregation at Tranquebar is increasing under the gracious influence of God, tho' in its very infancy furrounded with various oppositions and perfecutions, the common attendants of the Gospel of Christ. Our whole congregation, fays he, both of those who are actually baptized, and the Catechumens, or those who are yet instructed in the principles of Christianity, is increased to about 160 persons. Our Malabaric school is in very great forwardness, and provided with an able master, who before his conversion to Christianity, was one of the most able and famous poets and schoolmasters at Tranquebar. His conversion caused a great alarm among the heathens, who never expected any such thing; but now all is quiet again. We have begun to set up some manufactories, which, we hope, may prove in time beneficial to the main work we are carrying on, if we are powerfully supported by our superiors. I do not question but bundreds of Heathens would have been initiated into Christianity by this time, but these supports being wanting, we endavour the more to bring the few that are entered into the lifts of our Religion, to a more solid and experimental taste thereof. But above all things, I must tell you, what taketh me most, is the education of the Malabar children here. They are of a good promising temper, being not yet prepossessed with so many head-strong prejudices against Christianity. They are sooner wrought upon into a sense of the fear of God. Certainly we look on our youth as a stock and nur-Jery, from whence, in time, plentiful supplies may be drawn, for enriching our Malabaric church, with such members as may prove a glory and ornament to the Christian Religion. It is true, there are but few of the

* Propagation of the Gospel, in the East, part 2. pag. 28.

grown Heathens, who are willing to be baptized into the name of Christ, and yet there is always a concourse of people attending our sermons, and other parts of divine fervice; and doubtless, many return with strong convictions left upon their minds: all this gives me a fair prospeet of gaining a larger door for the word in process of time. He says also, that the English at Fort St. David have been very encouraging to this noble defign. He adds *, the Roman Catholic missionaries have made a wonderful progress, and continue to over-run the country; but fince their chief defign is to make profelytes to a party, fuch as fall under their management, are left in the utmost darkness and ignorance, without receiving the least tincture of real inward piety and con-At this rate, they go aftray like lost sheep, and remain altogether strangers to the grand mysteries of falvation; nor do their priests take the least pains of training them up to a competent knowledge of divine things, but suppose they have sufficiently answered the character of a missionary, whenever the poor Heathens have learned some external customary formalities of the church of Rome; and after this manner they convert numbers of Pagans in a little time, and with less labour.

In the year 1709 †, every thing was very scarce and dear in that country, so as many Malabars died for want of necessaries, others sold themselves for slaves. The Portugueze church there, being very numerous, took hold of this opportunity, and bought about sour score and one persons, being sold from twenty to thirty Fano, or from eight to sixteen shillings English money. The Pater Vicarius appointed a solemn day for baptizing all these at once, when they went in procession, attended with Malabar drums and flutes, as used in the Heathen Pagods, and were baptized without one question asked of them. Our author met with a Braman, who had been baptized four years before that, by these popish missionaries, and yet knew nothing of Christianity,

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^{*} Propagation of the Gospel in the East, part 2. pag. 32. † Ibidem, pag. 34.

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nity, but that he was sprinkled with water; yea, carried still about with him the usual badge whereby these Pagan Priests distinguish themselves from the common people, which is a little heathenish idolet, fastned before their breasts; he also anointed his breast and forehead after the way of these Pagan Priests, with an ointment made of ashes and cow-dung, and other filthy ingredients. This is the forry conversion of Heathens by the Popish missionaries; such converts will be poor ornaments to the church.

In a third pamphlet, under the fame title, *Propagation* of the Gospel in the East, printed at London in 1714, we have a further account of this good work. missionaries set up a Charity School for advancing their defign; they picked up a few Malabar boys, and laid the foundation of the school, in 1706*; to engage the Heathen as much as possible, they not only instructed their children gratis, but also provided many of them with food and raiment, as their exigence required. This, in the very infancy of the defign, could not but leave a good impression upon the grown Heathens, who hardly ever before had feen any fuch thing as love among Christians, except it were that love which they usually place in the riches and treasures of As this fort of love is too obvious, from the conduct of Christians in these parts, so it has disgraced the best of Religions to a prodigy, and rendered the name of a Christian scandalous to a proverb. The misfionaries erected one Malabar and one Portugueze school, tharing the management of these schools betwixt them: when the number of scholars increased, they were asfifted by ushers. One of the most expensive branches of the whole undertaking was, the transcribing of books for the use of their schools; they sometimes employed four, five or fix Kanakappel or transcribers, as the exigence of the work did require, and their circumstances allow'd: they neglected not any opportunity of convering with Heathens come to age, about the state of their fouls, and the eternal truths of the Christian Faith;

^{*} Propagation of the Gofpel in the East, part 3. pag. 11, 60.

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but found them bigotted to their Pagan superstitions, Some attended out of curiofity, some from a view to temporal interest, and some did make a step toward Christianity, but were soon shaken, on the approach of any fuffering, and started back to Paganism. Some were highly pleated when they heard the missionaries talk of the contempt of the world, and of a Reformation of Manners; but as foon as they touched the grand article of Jesus Christ, and upon Baptism, as the first inlet to a spiritual life, they flinched from it, and said, They could be happy without all this. As for the adult Heathens, who were willing to be initiated by Baptism into the Christian Faith, they are carefully instructed for fome months together, before that Sacrament is administred to them, that so the missionaries may discover at least the operation of the Spirit of God working within, and inspiring them with a hearty defire to submit to the rules of the Gospel. We must suppose the devil, as the God of this world, has an extraordinary power in these vast Pagan dominions, benighted for so many ages with heathenish darkness, superstition and idolatry; fo as they are thereby become a cage of unclean birds, and a receptacle of Demons and wicked spirits. This is perhaps the reason, that some of the Catechumens are now and then haunted by most terrible temptations, the enemy of fouls terrifying them one time with diabolical visions, and at another with frightful fuggestions offered to the mind from within; so unwilling he is to quit one of his wonted palaces! and this usually befals them much about the time of their approaching Baptism.

The missionaries erected a church, and consecrated it in August 1707, in presence of a numerous company of Heathens, Mahometans, and Christians, who had a sermon preached to them both in the Malabaric and Portugueze language. By the way it may be observed, that nothing of a picture or image must be seen in any church designed for the benefit of the Heathens, for sear of giving offence to the Malabarians, the images of their Gods being from their childhood so deeply impressed

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eply effed impressed on their brain, the very fight of a picture is enough to bring their former image-worship into their memory. Thus it happened, a Malabarian coming into a Danish church at Tranquebar, and spying the image of a Lion there, he lifted up his hands, and very devoutly made his Schalam, or religious bow, supposing it to be an idol of the Christians, set up there for religious worship and adoration. The scandalous corrupt life of Christians residing in the East-Indies many years, their earthly-mindedness, and excess of covetousness, makes our holy Religion a stench in the nostrils of these Heathens, which is not to be worn out, by a contrary practice of a more heavenly life and conversa-Francis Xavier, called by the Papists, The Apostle of the Indies, found the city of Goa abounding with fuch flagrant fins and enormities, that he was fain to lay afide for a time his thoughts of converting the Heathen, and to attempt first the conversion of his own countrymen, who lived more like Idolaters than Christians *. Joseph Acosta, who laboured for 15 years together in the conversion of the inhabitants of Peru, in the West-Indies, confesses, He did not find any impediment more obstructive to the Propagation of the Gospel, than the impiety of the Christians +, and their scandalous practices. Another obstacle whereby Heathens are debarred from the Religion of Christ, is the great uncharitableness of Christians to the converts of their Religion; this is chiefly by the conduct of Roman Catholics in these parts. Abundance of proselytes brought over by them to the church of Rome, are, after their Baptism, left in such pinching straits, as obliges them to beg their bread. The Malabars are offended at the light of this; they fay, It were but reasonable Christians should provide for those who are become proselytes to their Religion, and not leave them to perish in want and misery. What adds no small weight to the affliction of new converted heathens, is the perfecution they fuffer from

^{*} Xavier's Life, Book 2. pag. 92, & seq. Englished by Dryden.
† Acosta de procuranda Indorum salute, lib. 2. cap. 18. pag.
mihi 247.

their own countrymen as foon as they embrace Christia. nity; every one that turns Christian is banished immediately from all that he hath, (except he himself be the head of a family) and utterly abandoned by his friends and relations; yea, he must expect no favour

from any Malabarian whatfoever.

Since an exact knowledge of the Malabar divinity is necessary, to refute and raze the foundation of their idolatrous worship, Mr. Ziegenbalg purchased a good many books wherein it is contained, and applied himfelf to that study. I have given a little taste of it in the former chapter of this history *, and shall not now

infift upon it.

But what tended in a special manner to advance this good defign of propagating Christianity among the Heathen in that country was, the printing of the Malabar New Testament, which was begun October 1708, and ended in March 1711. About the latter end of that year 1250 copies of the New Testament in Portugueze were printed off: the missionaries settled a correspondence with the Honourable Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, at London; and the said Society did very charitably fend them a Printing-press with all necesfary utenfils, 600 weight of types, 100 reams of paper, with other valuable contributions; and one Mr. Jonas Fink, a native of Silesia, did go to the East-Indies to be their printer. With this affistance, a good many little books were printed for the use of the Malabaric school, and the converted heathens in these parts. The titles of these books are to be seen in the said pamphlet +.

The pacquet of letters from these parts, in September 1712, and in January 1713, gives account, that in the Malabaric and Portugueze churches, there were, in January 1713, of persons baptized 207, and Catechumens prepared for baptism 26. In the five charity schools were 78 children, of which 59 were cloathed and maintained upon the public expence, and fome

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^{*} Above, pag. 142-147. + Propagation of the Gospel in the East, part 3. pag. 47, & seq.

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persons employ'd in preparing food for them, and doing other services about the churches and schools. The missionaries hope, that in a little time some of the more advanced scholars in the *Malabaric* school, will be fit to be employ'd in the quality of school-masters,

catechists, and transcribers. There is another pamphlet, giving an account of the Religion, Government and Œconomy of the Malabarians, fent by the Danish missionaries to their correspondents in Europe, translated from High Dutch and printed at London in 1717. The whole is pleasing and edifying, by way of Question and Answer. But I shall only notice a few queries. " Question II. * Have you disco-" vered some true workings of grace in the souls of these " Catechumens? Are you sure there is more in their " conversion than a bare external compliance with, and " verbal confession of the Christian Doctrine? What " proofs and indications have you of an inward work of " grace? Answer. After the Gospel of Christ has " begun to be preached to this heathen world, many " commotions have been observed among Heathens, " Mahometans, and popishly affected Christians. Before " we began to preach here, every one thought himself " fafe in his wonted way of Religion, without any " doubt about his future falvation; but after we have " begun to call in question the goodness of their Re-" ligion, and alarmed them into fome doubts and ap-" prehenfions, many have exclaimed against us, and " loaded our labour with lyes and calumnies: others " have been fo far convinced, as to own, they stand " in need of a thorough conversion, and been willing " to discourse with us more at large about their better " concerns; but then they have suffered themselves to " be diverted from fo good a defign by the cunning of " faran. Others of the Heathen have agreed with us " in many points, and have approved of whatever is " written in the Word of God concerning a holy and " virtuous life; but then they have refused the name " of Christians, pretending, they could be faved without

Of the Religion, &c. of the Malabarians, pag. 46, & feq.

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all this. Some at last have been entirely convinced " of the necessity of believing on Christ, and of being baptized in his holy name, and have fully complied with these terms. However, before their admission to fo facred an ordinance, they have been faithfully " instructed in the most necessary articles of our Reli-" gion, especially about the nature of Faith in Christ, and true Repentance preceding it. Whenever we found fo faving a change in some degree upon their " minds, attended with a hearty defire to be admitted " to Baptism, we then made no further delay in ad-" ministring it to them, for fear of giving their friends occasion to obstruct the design, and by the crast of "the devil, to make them return to Heathenism, as it has happened to fome: yet none have ever been " admitted to Baptism, without previous instruction in the principles of the catechism for two or three " months together. None of these Catechumens but has had his share both of outward afflictions 46 and inward temptations, during that time wherein " he was prepared for Baptism. When baptized, we " must leave them to the powerful operation of the " good spirit of God, and thank the Lord for so pro-" mifing a beginning he has hitherto granted to our weak endeavours, in rescuing some from heathenish errors and superstitions, particularly in the midst " of fo many impediments that furround us on all " hands.

"Question III. * What method do you observe in preaching and administring the Sacraments? Answer. When I first began to preach in Malabaric, I did

" always chuse such a sentence of Scripture as treated upon an article of Faith, and this I explained in an easy doctrinal manner. According to this method I

represented 25 fermons, and therein I opened, as well as I could, the principal branches of our holy Re-

" ligion. Afterwards being straitned in time, I could not set down any longer my sermons at large, but

was fain to preach without the help of fuch notes.

"However,

^{*} Of the Religion of the Malabarians, pag. 50.

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" However, I did earnestly meditate upon every " point I was to propose, that I might deliver it " in a good connection, and with all plainness-" expounding the text, and then applying it by way " of instruction, correction, consolation, &c. My " fellow-labourer has hitherto preached on the Go-" spels in the Portugueze tongue, and in that lan-" guage he catechifes every week. In the administra-" tion of the holy communion, we follow the liturgy " of the church of Denmark; every one that intends " to receive the facrament must give notice of it " eight days before, during this time he is every day " catechifed one hour, admonished, and duly pre-" pared for worthy receiving that ordinance. Bap-"tilm is likewife administred conformable to that ritual. " Question IV. * Do the new converted make their " confession before they are admitted to the communion? " Answer. In externals, as we hinted before, we follow " the ritual of the church of Denmark, on purpose to " prevent the frivolous afperfions of those who would " infinuate, as if we ordered every thing by our own " head and fancy; —— tho' we don't think it conve-" nient to introduce in *India* every little circumftance "that may be innocently used in Europe. Thus, we "durst never conform to the wearing of a Crucifix " drawn on the top of the Surplice, as the custom is " in some churches of Europe; for should we use this, " the Heathens would certainly take the crucifix as an " idol, and worship it. For this reason we altoge-"ther abstain from all manner of pictures and images, " which in other countries may be more inoffenfively " used, than among the Heathens in India. All other " rites and ceremonies are ordered in fuch a manner " as may prove to edification. As for confession in " particular, it gives us a fair opportunity to discourse " our people about the state of their fouls, and to stir " them up upon that occasion, to the unfeigned practice " of true Religion."

The

^{*} Of the Religion of the Malabarians, _____pag. 53

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The fourth volume of Letters, concerning the Propagation of Christianity by the Danish Missionaries, is not yet published, so far as I know. I writ this in August 1723; but by several letters printed at London in the year 1720, it appears, that the said missionaries wrote to our present Sovereign King George, the sollowing letter.

To the KING of GREAT-BRITAIN, &c.

Most Serene, most Potent, and most Gracious King and Lord.

It is not unknown to your Majesty, that God hath inclined the heart of his Danish Majesty, King Frederic IV. graciously to begin the Propagation of the Gospel among the Heathen in the East-Indies, with the management whereof we, the unworthy servants and dispensers of the word of God, are intrusted; and, according to the talents God has been pleased to bestow upon us from above, we endeavour with all diligence and sidelity, both by preaching and writing, to promote the conversion of the Gentiles.

There are many pious and learned gentlemen in your Majesty's kingdoms, who take great pleasure in this work, and have seconded it in the best manner, both by their good advice and assistance; and your majesty having been graciously pleased to permit Bartholomew Ziegenbalg, one of the underwritten missionaries, when at London last year, with all humility to give your Majesty a verbal account of the whole undertaking, we cannot but entertain good hopes from thence, that your Majesty will receive with some satisfaction, from the midst of the Heathen in this country, our joyful acknowledgments for the favourable inclinations your majesty was pleased to express towards the work of conversion carried on among them.

Among all the crowned heads of the Protestant Powers, your Majesty, by means of the large extensive commerce your subjects are engaged in with other nations, hath the fairest

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fairest opportunity of publishing the Gospel of Christ in divers languages, among those that do not believe it, and thereby to promote the conversion of the Heathen: and it is not a small number of your Majesty's subjects, as well those of the first rank, as others in a lower station, who beartily espouse the Propagation of the Gospel, and promoting Christian Knowledge. These considerations make us hope, that your Majesty being firmly seated on your royal throne, and having reduced the rebels to submission. and obedience, will be more at leisure to regard and lay to beart the spreading of the saving Gospel of Christ in the Pagan World. This will not only render your name immortal among the evangelical churches, but will also be accompanied with a continual bleffing in this life, and an eternal reward in that which is to come. As we defire bereby to return our most bumble acknowledgments, for the great assistance received from your Majesty's subjects of Great-Britain, towards carrying on this work in the Heathen World; so we do further most humbly beseech your Majesty, to have this most Christian design in most gracious remembrance, and to continue to favour both the mission, and us who are engaged in it.

We wish your Majesty, and all the Royal Family of Great-Britain, a plentiful effusion of divine grace, and all temporal blessings, with a happy and prosperous govern-

ment: and continue with the greatest submission,

Written at Tranquebar in the East-Indies, upon the Coast of Coromandel, January 2d, 1717.

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Most ferene and most gracious

King and Lord, your Ma-

jefty's most humble and

most obedient Servants,

Bartholomew Ziegenbalg. John Ernest Grundler. To which Letter, our Sovereign returned the following gracious Answer.

To the Reverend, most Learned, our Beloved and Devout, &c. Bartholomew Ziegenbalg, and John Ernest Grundler, the Royal Danish Evangelical Missionaries at Tranquebar in East-India.

GEORGE, by the Grace of GOD, KING of GREAT-BRITAIN, &c. Our most gracious Will and Pleasure be known.

Reverend, most Learned, Beloved and Devout,

It is a most acceptable relation you have given us in a letter, dated the 2d of January of this present year, not only because the work of conversion to the Christian Faith begun among the Heathen, does, by the grace of God, prosperously advance; but also, that in this our kingdom is shown so much of laudable zeal towards supporting the Propagation of the Gospel.

We wish you health and strength long to discharge your function, with a continued happy success: and as we shall be always very well pleased to hear of the progress thereof, so we shall, at a proper season, be found ready to assign you in what shall tend to the promotion of this affair,

and your encouragement.

Given at our Palace at Hampton-Court,

23 August in the Year of our Lord
1717, and the 4th Year of our Reign.

We remain graciously inclined to you,

GEO.RGER.

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To

Vol. II.

" abroad

To this gracious Letter the said Missionaries make a suitable return; the tenor whereof follows.

To the KING of GREAT-BRITAIN, &c.

Most Serene, most Potent, and most Gracious King and Lord;

" TOUR Majesty's most gracious Letter of the 23 August 1717, came to us on the 4th of May 3 Septr. " following. We received it with the greatest joy " imaginable, and were highly comforted and quickened " in our zeal for the glory of Almighty God, when " we read these your Majesty's most gracious expres-" fions: As we shall be always well pleased to hear " of the happy success and progress of this work, so we " shall, at a proper season, be found ready to assist you " in what shall tend to the promotion of this affair, and "your encouragement. Your Majesty hereby most graciously allows us to make a further report of the " state of our affairs, and we thence conceive joyful " hopes, that your Majesty will add to the glorious "title of a powerful Defender of the Faith, the noble " character of its zealous Promoter; not only by sup-" porting the reign of Jesus Christ in your own domi-" nions, but also by promoting and extending it among " the Heathen and Infidels, in the most remote parts Therefore, after having heartily " of the world. " thanked God Almighty for inclining your Majesty's " heart toward fo holy a defign, and with the pro-"foundest submission acknowledged your Majesty's " high favour toward us your unworthy fervants; " may it please your Majesty to accept of the follow-" ing account of the state of that work, in which we " are employ'd. "We the Missionaries, on our part are endeavour-

"ing, according to the measure of the grace God Almighty has imparted to us, plentifully to spread

338 so abroad the feed of the Word of God among the "Heathens in their own language; there being no other " means for touching the hearts of heathens, in order " to their conversion. We also maintain Indians to " affift us as catechifts, for which function we first " prepare them, by instructing them in the faving " Faith of Jesus Christ, and then send them to pro-" pagate it among the Heathens. To fuch places " whither the instruction of the Gospel by word of " mouth cannot reach, we fend our printed Malaba-" rian books, which are read in these parts by many of all forts and degrees. As we are perfectly fen-" fible, that to promote and perpetuate fuch an un-" dertaking, a folid foundation must be laid, by trans-" lating the holy Scriptures, and publishing other in-" structive books in the language of the country, we " did a good while ago finish and publish a transla-"tion of the New-Testament, and are now labouring " with great application, in translating the Old Testa-" ment into the Malabarian and Portugueze languages: besides, we compose every year some books for infructing of the Heathens, containing the funda-" mentals of the Christian Religion; for better pub-" lication of which, the printing press we have re-" ceived from our benefactors in England, is of great " use to us. That our printing press may always be or provided with a fufficient quantity of letters, we en-" tertain in the mission persons for cutting molds, and " casting letters, as also for binding books, being fur-" nished every year with the necessary tools and materials from England, by the laudable Society for " propagating Christian Knowledge. To supply the " want of paper, we have been at great expence in " erecting a paper-mill here. And fo under the invo-" cation of the name of God, we plentifully difpense, " both by word of mouth and writing, in this Heathen " Country, the Gospel; which makes a happy imor pression on the minds of many of the inhabitants, "Some indeed, particularly their Bramans or Priests, " gainfay and fcoff; others come to a fense of the " abomi-

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abominations of idolatry, and leave off worshipping their idols; others are brought to better principles, " and shew in their discourse and writing, that they " have got a greater light than their forefathers: others " again give full affent to all the truths of Christia-" nity, but out of a worldly confideration wave Bap-" tilm and the name of Christians. But some break " thro' all difficulties, and fubduing their Reason to "the obedience of Faith, resolutely profess Christia-"nity; these are for some time instructed by us and " our catechists, and afterwards, when they give true " figns of repentance and conversion, are received into " the bosom of the Christian Church, by holy Bap-" tism. These, who are become members of our con-" gregation, we are instructing with all diligence, that " Jesus Christ may be framed within them; our pri-" vate exercises with them are daily catechisings, by " fending our catechifts to their habitations, to enquire " into their way of life, to examine them upon the " catechism, to pray with them, and to make a report " to us the Missionaries, of what passes among them. "To exercise them in praying, we have set hours " thrice a week, in which prayers are read to them in " private. We give free occasion to every one of "them, to communicate to us their concerns. " public exercises confist in preaching to them, every " Sunday in the morning, a fermon in the Malabarian " language, and another in the Portugueze; and in " the afternoon we catechife in both languages. Be-" fides, we preach a fermon in the High Dutch for the " Europeans: every Wednesday we catechise at church " in Portugueze; and every Friday in Malabarian. As " to the children of either fex that belong to our con-" gregation, we instruct them all in our schools, in " the principles of Christianity, reading, writing, and " other useful knowledge; they are maintained in " every thing at our charge. We have erected a fe-" minary for fuch as we defign for the fervice of the "Gospel, to be furnished thence with proper cate-" chifts, preceptors and clerks. Such boys as want " necessary Z 2

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" necessary capacity, we put to learn handy-crafts. "We have also established schools, one in this town, " and another in a populous borough not far off, where "they are instructed by Christian tutors, and have full " allowance, except victuals and clothes, which their " parents find them. "The Lord having so bleffed our labours, that the " new-planted congregation increases every year; the " first church which we built became too narrow, "upon which we found it necessary to build one more " spacious; and it pleased God to furnish us with means to finish it in two years time; and on the 11th " of October last, it was consecrated in the name of "the Holy Trinity: and we are now constantly " preaching in it in three languages. We have likewife, at the defire of the English who live on this coast, erected two schools, one at Fort St. George, and another at Fort St. David. The present Gover-" nour of Fort St. George is a special friend to the mis-" fion, and has lately remitted to it a confiderable The rest of our friends here have cheerorefent.

fully supplied our wants this year. The Lord, whose

" work it is, guide us for the future by his divine providence, and flir up in Europe many promoters

among persons of all ranks, that, in these last times, the salvation of the Heathens may be sought with

" earnestness, and their conversion promoted by the whole Christian Church. That our most merciful

"God may crown your Majesty with all prosperity, is

" the devout prayers of,

Most serene, and most gracious King and Lord,

Tranquebar, 24 November, 5 December, 1718. Your Majesty's most humble, and most obedient Servants,

> Bartholomew Ziegenb lg, John Ernest Grundler^a

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Thus I have given an abstract of what offers from printed books and pamphlets, concerning the Propagation of Christianity by the Danish Missionaries. I shall conclude this subject, by observing a passage or two

from the printed News-Papers.

By letters to Hall in Saxony *, we have advice from the East-Indies, by way of England, of the three perfons who were lately fent thither, to supply the Protestant mission in the Danish colony at Tranquebar, on the coast of Malabar. Their names are M. Schultze, M. Dabl, and M. Kistenmucher; they set out from hence for England, on the 25th of November 1718; their letters are dated at Madras, a place situate on the said coast, the 31st of July 1719, containing an account, that having failed from Deal the 19th of March of that fame year, they arrived at the Cape of Good Hope, on the 4th of June following, and at Madras on the 25th of July, 18 weeks after their failing from England. At Madras they received a letter from M. Grundler, one of the missionaries at Tranquebar, acquainting them, that M. Ziegenbalg his collegue died there on the 23d of February 1719, and was much lamented, being a person who had acquired exact knowledge in the Malabarian language, and had done great fervices for promoting Christianity in these parts, as we have already heard.

By other letters from Malabar of October 21st, 1719, we are informed †, that for these two years past, the poor Malabarians have been afflicted with war, samine and pestilence; but have not suffered very much by the former. For as we are at the extremity of the Empire of the Mogol, we have been little concerned in the revolutions that happened, and which still continue.—The Famine and Plague have been more fatal to us than the civil war, and abundance of people have been swept away, which has given us an opportunity to shew our zeal. We have baptized a considerable number of Malabarians, but do not think fit to tell how many, that you may not Z 3

† Ibidem, Number 231.

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^{*} Edinburgh Courant, Number 216.

Surmize we follow the example of the Jesuits, who endeavour to deceive mankind, and impose upon them a world of fabulous stories; and we do not design to claim an bonour which is due to God alone. We only plant and water, it is God who gives the increase. The Jesuits continue to occasion great disturbances in China; they write, their mission will be lost in a short time; which I easily believe: but they slatter themselves, that if other missionaries are expelled, they will find means to return thither themselves: they continue along these coasts to allow their proselytes the use of the superstitions condemned at Rome, because no body can oppose them with success.

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I have now deduced what has been done towards the Propagation of Christianity in these last ages, by the English, by the Dutch, and by the Danish Missionaries, down to the present time; and shall conclude this Chapter, with observing some other good things a doing in other parts of the world, and also at home,

for propagating and advancing our Religion.

If we look into Muscovy, we have lately printed, A Description of the Manners and Customs of the Ostiacs, a nation that extends to the Frigid Zone, in the Russian dominions, by John Barnard Muller *, where we have an account of the state of the kingdom of Siberia, and of the original of the Ostiacs, and of their manners and way of life, and absurd kind of heathenish idolatry, which I need not here particularly insist upon. But our author † says, "That Father Philotheus being made" Metropolitan or Archbishop of Tobolsky, the Me-

"tropolis of Siberia, found himself actuated by a zeal of converting the neighbouring nations to the Chri-

" flian Faith. Accordingly he fent missionaries to the Mingrelians, and to their high priest Kutuchta, with

two of his own fervants, who were to study the language and letters of that nation. This Kutuckto

^{*} See the present State of Muscovy, Vol. II. pag. 44, to 92. printed 1723.
† Indeen, Vol. II. pag. 86, & seq.

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" is in high veneration among the nations of Mines grelia, Contasch, Ojuka and Bucharia; he is their " Pope or High Prieft, always attended by a number of armed men, and has under him all other Lamas " or Priefts.—— He has no fixed refidence, but with " his fine tents, and a confiderable guard of foldier, " removes where he likes best; he carries his idols, " particularly those that are in greatest repute with the " people, along with him, and places them in fepa-" rate tents.— The laudable defign of the metro-" politan had not all the intended fuccess; for his " advanced age made him refolve to refign his Arch-" bishopric, and retire into the monastery of Kioff, "where he had spent his younger years: but the go-" vernour of Siberia, Matfei Petrowitz Gagarin, fo " far prevailed with him, that he promifed to continue " for fome time longer in the employment, on condi-"tion, That he might have leave to convert the Offiac " nation to the Christian Religion, pursuant to the inten-" tions bis Czarish Majesty bad expressed long before. " Accordingly he went, attended by feveral clergy-" men, to the places where the chief idols flood, and "which were most frequented by the people. He re-" presented to them the vanity of the idolatrous wor-" ship of wooden images, and directed them how to " adore the true living God. But these people, pre-" possessed with the antiquity of that service, opposed " all the Metropolitan's endeavours, alledging, That " their ancestors had time out of mind, maintained the " worship of their Sheitans, and fared well by it; that " as for themselves, they were from their childhood " brought up to it, and were unwilling to change it for " another, which would make them believe the Souls of " their ancestors to be in a state of damnation, or at best " in a very dubious condition. So that at first, they " feemed resolved rather to venture upon the last ex-" tremities, than to renounce the Religion and Customs " of their Forefathers. The beginning of the Refor-" mation was made in the year 1712, about Samaroff, " where they had the Staryk Obsky or their Fish Idol. 344 Propagation of Christianity

"The people at first were very unwilling to part with " their reputed Deity, who had supplied them and " their forefathers with fishes in abundance, and whom, " in their opinion, they could, by ill usage and re-" proaches, hector into a compliance with their demands. However, by degrees, they gave ear to the old Metropolitan's reasonings, and the idol was " burnt. This was no fooner done, but they shewed " a repentance for what they had done, and a defire of returning to their ancient worship again. This was augmented by a deceitful report spread by " fome, who pretended they had feen the Ghost of "the idol in the shape of a white swan, rising into " the air out of the flames. But as the metropolitan " and others contradicted that fiction, and those who " had forged it durst not appear to support it, the poor " misled people began to give way for their better " instruction. Those who lived in more remote parts, " shewed still greater obstinacy in forfaking their idoce latry. Some priests of their Sheitans, were very " active in countenancing the flicklers for the ancient worship, by making them believe, That the idel se foretold what would happen, eight days before the " metropolitan's arrival, and warned them to withstand the attempts of the Christians, which he would certainly baffle and disappoint, by his powerful protection. When " the Metropolitan arrived among the Gurtees of Shor-" how, where they had another fuch Idol, he found " the people disposed to stand all extremities, in mainco taining their Religion. However, the pious zeal " and convincing arguments of that man, were of " fuch weight with these people, that they also confented to the burning of their idol. There was one "thing which very much contributed to the conversion of those Heathens who live about the monastery of « Kotskoy (where there also live a few Russians) viz. "The example of one of their Kneeses, Alatscho by " name, who derived his descent from the family of " the ancient Governours of this nation. The Metroof politan represented to him the example of the Ruffran Cha
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" fian nation, who had likewise but lately been idola-" ters, but were converted to Christianity, and brought " to destroy their idols in the time of Vladimir, who " refided at Kiow. This instance made such an im-" pression on Alasscho, that he not only received "Baptism, but also resolved to take a journey to " Kioff, to view the bodies of the faints that are re-" posited there, free from corruption, in order to be " informed of the truth of the thing; and accordingly, " immediately after he was baptized, he fet out for The feafon being spent during these " that city. " transactions, the rigour of the winter obliged the "Archbishop to return, having had no further success " in his design, than that he burnt many idols, and " initiated about 10 or 11 fouls to Christianity, by "Baptism. I must defer, till another opportunity, to " inform the reader, how in the years 1713 and 1714, " about 5000 Oftiacs were baptized; it happening by " a particular providence, that the greater part of

" that nation were then affembled; the gathering of whom out of the forests and desarts, would other-

" wife have been a work of ten years at leaft."

The above account of John Bernard Muller, tho printed this prefent year, yet it was writ originally by the author, a Swedish captain of dragoons, in his captivity, in the year 1716. I take the following paragraph of a News-Paper, to be a continuation of the fame conversion of these northern Heathens. ters from Petersburg, of April 11, 1721 *, our senate have received letters from the metropolitan Theodorus, dated at Tobolsky the capital of Siberia, importing, that above 40000 Tartars have abjured Paganism, and been baptized by him and others of the clergy. That moreover, they have pulled down their own temples, broke their idols, and built upwards of twenty Churches, in which divine service is performed by Russian priests. Upon these advices, our consistory have appointed a Bishop to go and assist in confirming these new converts, and endeavour to make more proselytes. We

^{*} Evening-Post, from May 2. to May 4. 1721.

We are also informed of several pieces of Resormation, which the Czar of Russia, Peter I. is endeavouring to introduce into his large dominions, which in process of time may prove means to advance Chris-

tianity.

The author of the present State of Russia, printed in 1723. fays *, That there are Churches in all places in Russia, but as there is no preaching, nor any schools in the country, the common people are very ignorant in point of Religion, and still more so, as to reading and writing. But the present Czar, who has at this time school and writing-masters, for the instruction of the youth in the towns, is resolved to do the like in the villages, and to banish the former ignorance from among his subjects. In another place he observes +, That the Prince Gagarin took notice, that considering the vast extent of the Russian Empire, and that many parts of it are almost inaccessible, it was no wonder, that so many of these Heathen Nations remain unconverted: bowever, that his Czarish Majesty had made already a beginning of their conversion, and was resolved to continue in his zeal for propagating the Christian Religion all over his Dominions. The same author fays, This was confirmed to me by some of the clergy at Moscow, who told me, That two years ago, by the Czar's orders, feveral persons were singled out from among them, and fent in the capacity of priests and schoolmasters, to divers pagan nations, especially the Ostiacs; which laudable undertaking had in feveral parts already met with the intended fuccels.

The same author observes the great improvements the Czar had made in woollen and linen manufactories, in powder-mills, rope-yards, sounderies for guns, &a and more particularly in fine paper-mills ||, and a hand-some printing-house, where they have begun to print in it weekly News-papers in the Russian Language, by the Czar's orders, who will have his subjects get an insight into the affairs of the world; and it is with this view, that four monks

* Vol. 1. pag. 121. † Ibidem, Vol. 1. pag. 173. Chap monks tongue The g lation Collo dam; Pictu

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[|] Ibidem, Vol. 1, pag. 181-183."

monks in Prague, who are well versed in the Sclavonian tongue, are now actually translating from the High-Dutch. The great Historical Dictionary of Budæus. The translation of Pussendors's Introduction to History; the Colloquia, or familiar Dialogues, of Erasmus of Rotterdam; Arnaudt's true Christianity; Commenius Orbis Pictus, and other useful books, were printed three years ago.

And what, in my opinion, is of greater concern than all these; the Czar, as we are informed, has lately ordered the Bible to be printed in the Russian Language, that copies thereof may be had in every family; that every person should learn to read the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, and, that none be allowed to marry, but those who can read the same. And by letters from Hamburgh of December 12th, 1722, we are told, that advices from Petersburgh say, that printed Bibles have been distributed to every family there,

and the like will be done throughout all Russia.

In the year 1717, when the Czar was at Paris, some Doctors of the Sorbonne, or Faculty of Divinity of the University there, delivered to him a project in Latin, of uniting the two Churches of Rome and Russia, by observing a certain moderation on both sides *. But the impossibility of bringing about such an union is plain to every one who is acquainted with the doctrine of both Religions, and the maxims of the present government in Russia. To admit the Roman Catholic Religion, would be opening a door to endless disputes, which could not fail of difturbing that civil as well as ecclefiaftical tranquillity which has been hitherto maintained in Russia, and endangering the security which the Czar has procured to himself, with respect to the Russian Clergy, as well as their blind dependants the peafants. Neither is it probable, that the Czar, after having suppressed the patriarchal authority in Russia, will subject himself and his dominions to a far greater dependency, either on the Pope, or on a general Council.

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^{*} Present State of Russia, Vol. 1, pag. 281. Vol. 2. pag. 355.

The Czar, in all his Reformation, seems rather to come nearer to the side of the Protestants; for the pilgrimages to the bones and reliques of Saints, begins to grow very much out of use in Russia *, since the Czar himself does not so much mind that religious Ceremony. His Majesty also endeavours to bring off, by his example, his Russians from their rigorous fasts, considering this sort of devotion has proved pernicious to an infinite number of his soldiers, seamen and labourers.

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We are also informed by letters from Hamburgh, of January 2d, 1723, The Czar has given permission to Protestants, to build churches and schools for their own service; and has likewise declared, that the Russians are at liberty to embrace the Protestant Religion, if they please: Than which he could do nothing more unpopular, the Muscovites being as warm zealots for their Religion, as any under the sun.

What advantage may be gained to Christianity, and to the ruin of *Mahometanism* and Infidelity, by the conquests of this great Potentate in *Persia*, time will discover. Only we pray God, they may be improved to the advancement of our holy Christian Religion,

which he professeth.

By the public letters from Vienna, of December 14th, 1721, we are informed from Constantinople, that the Sultan has caused the Bible to be printed in the Turkish Language, to be confronted with the Alcoran: which makes the Musti or High Ottoman Priest the more uneasy, because the Grand Seignior will allow a Church and Chappel to be built in the suburbs of Pera, for the use of the Catholics; as also a college for the study of sciences in the Latin, Greek and German tongues, to which even the Turks may resort. May Dagon sall before the Ark, and may all these things be improved for the progress of Christianity over the World!

There are other things doing in Europe, which may tend to the advancement of Christianity. In Germany, a great number of copies of the New-Testament have

* Present State of Russia, Vol. 1. pag. 237.

Chap. 8. Propagation of Christianity. been printed in the vulgar Greek or Romaic, with the authentic Greek on the other fide, and fent as a prefent to the poor Greek Churches under Mahometan oppression. But I shall have occasion in the last chapter of this history, to take notice of the excellent means of education in the University of Hall in Saxony, and other useful things doing there: and therefore, shall now look into fome things doing at home for advancing our holy Religion.

By an extract of several letters, printed at London in the year 1721, now before me, we have a proposal from England, for printing the New Testament and Platter in the Arabic language, for the benefit of poor Christians in Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia, Arabia, E-

gypt, and other Eastern Countries.

There are several considerations offered in these letters, to shew the advantage and necessity of so pious an undertaking, which deferve room here. Particularly, Mr. Solomon Negri, native of Damascus in Syria, in his letter to a member of the society at London, for promoting Christian Knowledge, dated March 28th, 1720, advances these reasons for it. "First, the want of printing-" presses in the Eastern Countries makes books very " scarce and dear, much beyond what the poor Chri-" stians can afford to purchase them at, having much " ado to pay the tributes and impositions laid on them. " by the government they live under, and to supply " the common necessaries of life: So that there are " but very few in a condition to buy books for their in-" struction and spiritual nourishment. Secondly, the few printed copies either of the whole New Testament, " or any part of it, are very hard to be got in these parts of the world, and these also at a very dear rate. —The two editions at Rome have had little fuccess, by reason of the cuts and figures therein, which the 'Eastern Nations have an aversion to; and by reason of the badness of the impression, and meanness of the language, being even indecent in some places. Thirdly, the excellency of the Arabic language is undoubted, in what light foever you please to consider Propagation of Christianity.

it; this is the language the Alcoran is wrote in; it extends to all those countries where the Mahometan Religion is professed, and even beyond these coun-" tries, among many of the heathen; it is the common language of the greatest part of Africa, of a considerable part of Asia; and in the Turkish domior nions where it is not generally spoke, it is neverthe. less taught in schools, and studied by men of letters, as Latin is in Europe, where also it is read in several "Universities.—But, says be, I'll only mention those countries where the greatest number of Christians are ce fettled; namely, Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia, Arabia, and Egypt. In all these countries there are great numbers and communities of Christians, to whom " fuch an edition will be useful, as the Arabians of the " Greek Church, commonly called Melchites, who, being fuperior in number to all the rest, ought to be " principally regarded; the Syrians or Eutychians, the Nestorians, Maronites, Armenians, Coptes, and even a small remnant of the ancientest Nazarenes. All these, tho' they celebrate their liturgy in the lan-" guage used by the respective churches, yet they generally understand, speak, and write Arabic. He " adds, the best method would be to reserve part of " the Edition at London, and fend from time to time a " number of copies bound, with a suitable recommen-" dation to the English Conful at Aleppo, which of all cities is the best situated for dispersing them: And the faid Conful, with the affiftance of his chaplain, who will readily charge himself with a commission " fo agreeable to his character, and so charitable, hoor nourable and glorious to the British nation, will " give them to those for whom they are designed."

Mr. Ayerst, Chaplain to Sir Robert Sutton, late Ambassiador at the Porte, adds, "The Turks will not hinder such a New Testament from being dispersed." Mr. Samuel Liste, some time Chaplain to the Honourable Turkey Company, adds, "I am very glad, that the Society have taken it into their consideration, to affist their Christian Brethren in the performance of

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Chap. 8. Propagation of Christianity.

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" fo necessary a duty; for without some such assistance, "I scarce see how 'tis possible for them to have the "Scriptures in their own hands—And will leave you, "Sir, to judge what ignorance, corruptions, and superstitions are like to follow upon such a want." Several other persons, who had a particular knowledge of these parts of the world, confirm the former accounts of the usefulness of this work.

After all, 'tis proposed to print eight thousand copies of the New Testament and Psalter, in Arabic, with a new letter, on good paper, if the fund for doing it will reach to fo great a number; and eight thousand copies, at fix shillings the copy bound, including all charges, will come to two thousand four hundred pounds. fund is to be raised by a charitable collection, and 'tis a very noble defign, and a laudable way of extending Christian Charity, to prevent the ignorance, superstition, and mifery of fuch great numbers of Christians, in fo many large cities and countries, by giving them the Hely Scriptures in a language known to them; they being willing to read, and ready to receive inftruction, and cannot enjoy that privilege but by the way here proposed. And we may now observe with pleasure, that this generous undertaking of printing the New Testament and Psalter in Arabic is accomplished in England, and 2000 copies of the New Testament, and 4000 of the Pfalter, have been already dispersed among

In Scotland, we have had no great opportunities hitherto for fending missions to promote Christianity among Heathens in the remote parts of the world; but the flourishing state of our Universities and Schools of learning, makes it evident, that if youths proper for such purposes do offer, they may have religious and excellent education among us. The present history is humbly offered as a testimony of a hearty and sincere concern for the success of this important affair. I don't know if in any place, even the common people are more generally acquainted with the principles of Reli-

these poor Christians, to their great comfort and spiri-

tual advantage.

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gion, and have a more fober practice than with us; where Ministers of the Gospel, not only by their frequent preaching, but also by their yearly visiting families, catechising the members of their congregations, and exact discipline, do constantly endeavour to promote Reformation and Christian Knowledge: Our feveral Church-Judicatories, Presbyteries, Synods, and national Assemblies, exciting, directing and supporting us in the performance of these important duties.

And particularly, the care, diligence, and fuccess of the Society in Scotland for propagating knowledge in the Highlands and Islands, deserves to be noticed among those good things doing in Europe for promoting Christianity. The Society was erected by Letters Patent of our late Sovereign Queen Anne, in the year 1709, and has been promoted and encouraged by the 6th Act of our national Affembly in that year, and by many fubsequent acts and recommendations to the present time; it has been supported by the bounty of pious and charitable people: all which has been faithfully applied by the administrators. So as at present their fund, by the bleffing of God, is increased to 4800 Pounds Sterling *, besides a considerable mortification that is life-rented. With which stock they maintain 59 Charity-schools in the Highlands and Islands, at which no less than 1444 boys, and 568 girls, in all 2012 are taught to read, write, to practife arithmetic, to fing the common tunes, and to understand the principles of the Reformed Religion. Tho' at the beginning parents feemed averse from sending their children to learn, yet now they strive who shall have their children best taught; and even fervants, both male and female, leave their services for a time, to have the benefit of instruction at the Society-schools: yea, popish parents have petition'd the Society for the benefit of these schools to their children, and bound themselves under a penalty by a written obligation, to fend their children thereto; fo that now many children of popish parents both learn our Come lots en Societ as if for the contradefire fchools

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The the year buying remote most al great n sions of ginners buted, defire d 1722. more de pery and Highlan and rue we hop Itians. a confic land, th from H_{ϵ} a comm in that presbyte habitant before h urther pamphle

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^{*} See Recommendation by the Commission of the General Assembly at Edinburgh, November 14. 1722.

Chap. 8. Propagation of Christianity.

our Catechism, and read other Protestant Books, and come to Church. Tho' popish priests and other zea-

lots exerted themselves to the utmost to defeat the Society's piousdesign, by spreading groundless falshoods, as if those bred at the Society's schools were designed for the plantations, yet they are now satisfied to the contrary. There seems now in most places an earnest desire after Christian Knowledge, so that the Society's schools are not sufficient to instruct all the different

places in the Highlands and Islands.

The national Affembly of this Church having, in the year 1715, recommended a voluntary collection for buying Books, and maintaining itinerant schools in remote glens and islands, where popery and ignorance most abounds; upon that fund some thousands of Bibles, great numbers of New Testaments, Catechisms, Confessions of Faith, Books of Devotion, of Instruction to beginners, and Books against Popery, have been diftributed, till that collection was exhausted, and at the defire of the Society a new one is granted in the year 1722. The progress and success of this Society is the more desirable, that it banishes Ignorance, Atheism, Popery and Impiety, that did too much abound in the Highlands and Isles of Scotland, and where their poverty and rudeness made other means ineffectual; but now we hope they'll be better Subjects and better Christians. Yea, in the island of Hirta, alias St. Kilda, at a confiderable distance from the western coast of Scotland, the inhabitants were not so much as reformed from Heathenism, 'till in the year 1710, the Society gave a commission to Alexander Buchan to be schoolmaster in that remote island, and he was also ordained by the presbytery of Edinburgh to be minister there, the inhabitants having scarce ever heard the Gospel preached before he came among them. They who defire to be further informed concerning this Society, may read a pamphlet, entitled, Account of the Rise, Constitution, and Management of the Society in Scotland for propasating Christian Knowledge, printed at Edinburgh, in the year 1720, and the recommendation above-cited. VOL. II. May May our gracious God bless and crown these and other good things that are a doing, not only in Europe, but in any other part of the known world, for the advancing of our Redeemer's Kingdom, and the ruin of ignorance and infidelity with great success, and may his name have the glory!

CHAP. IX.

Of further Means to be used for converting the Heathens, and propagating Christianity; with Arguments to promote the same.

Having confirmed the truth of the Christian Religion, explained the state of Heathenish Idolatry from the Creation of the World to the Birth of Christ, discovered the vanity and wickedness of Paganism, and drawn down the history of the conversion of Heathens, from the infancy of the Christian Church to the present day: there remains but a small part of our defign now to be considered. The sad view we have had from the feventh chapter of this work, of the prefent state of the Gentile World, under black darkness, and the servitude of Satan; love to perishing souls, and defire to advance the glory of Christ, may stir up the hearts of zealous Christians to use their utmost endeavours to turn finners from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God; that they may receive the forgiveness of sins, and an inheritance among them which are sanctified.

To propose proper methods for converting the Pagan World to the Christian Religion, is a matter of great difficulty, and of vast consequence. The blessing of God, and the pouring out of his spirit from on high are necessary to turn this wilderness into a fruitful field but we are to expect this blessing upon the use of the means proper for gaining the end. Therefore,

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In the First place, We ought fervently to pray for the conversion of the Heathen World to the Kingdom of Christ. The Psalmist says, Prayer shall be made for bim continually *; that is, Christ's Subjects shall pray for the enlargement and prosperity of his Kingdom. When the disciples joined together in prayer for the Kingdom of Christ, it is faid +, The place was shaken where they were affembled together, and they were all filled with the Holy Ghost. The Kingdom of our Redeemer is not advanced by external force, but by inward power and virtue. Not by Might, nor by Power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord of Hosts ||. Therefore he has taught us to pray, Thy Kingdom come. If we be unconcerned for the Kingdom of our bleffed Lord, our Prayers are as good as none, and can never be accepta ble at the Throne of Grace. The promises of the enlargement of the New-Testament Church are many; and the time is near when they shall be fully accomplished: we ought then every one of us, in our station. to throw in our mite for the conversion of the Heathen World, not only by frequent prayers to the Throne of Grace upon ordinary occasions, but also by joining in folemn days of humiliation and prayer for that end.

Secondly, Neglect of precious fouls, covetousness, and a profane life, ought to be carefully shunned by those who are employ'd in this work of Propagating Christianity among the Heathen; and more particularly, no methods of force or cruelty ought to be used, but rather all proper means to convince them of the excellency of the Christian Religion. The Spanish cruelties at the conquest of America and the West-Indies, are notorious all the world over; by these the poor Heathens got bad impressions of Christianity, and were hindered from cheerfully embracing of it. I have not before insisted upon this piece of history, therefore allow me here to take some notice of it.

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^{*} Pfalm 72. 15. Zech. 4. 6.

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Don Bartholomew de las Casas Bishop of Chiapa, who himself was an eye witness, has given a particular relation of these cruelties. His book was writ in Spanish in the reign of Charles V. and is done into English under this title, An Account of the first Voyages and Discoveries made by the Spaniards in America, containing the most exact relation hitherto published, of their unparallelled cruelties on the Indians. The copy before me is printed at London in the year 1699. I shall cite a few passages from it. This author speaking of Hispaniola, the first isle the Spaniards seized, the extent whereof is about 600 leagues, fays *, "The 44 Almighty feems to have inspired these people with " a meekness and softness of humour like that of lambs, and the Spaniards, who have given them so much " trouble, and fallen upon them fo fiercely, refemble " favage tygers, wolves and lions, when enraged with or preffing hunger. They applied themselves forty vears together, wholly to massacring the poor wretches that inhabited the islands, putting them to " all kinds of unheard of torments and punishments.— "Infomuch, that this island, which before the arrival of the Europeans, contained about three millions of " people, is now reduced to less than three hundred. "The island of Cuba, the length of which is equal to the distance between Valladolid and Rome, is entirely " a defart, and destitute of its inhabitants, and no-"thing but ruins to be feen in it. The isles of St. John " and Jamaica have met with the like treatment; they were fertile and populous, but are rendred defolate " and waste by the like means. The islands near Cuba and Hispaniola, on the north side, are 60 in number, " which are commonly called, The Isles of Giants, of "which the least fruitful abounds more with plenty "than the Royal Garden of Seville; but they are de-" stitute of inhabitants, tho' it is as wholesome an arr " as men can breath in. When the Spaniards first

" landed in these isles, there were above 500,000 souls

" in them; they cut the throats of a good part of

^{*} Spanish Voyages, and Cruelties, pag. 3, & feq.

"these, and carried away the rest by sorce to make them work in the mines of Hispaniola. When some pious persons embarked to visit these islands after the ravages the Spaniards had made in them, they found but eleven people lest there. Above 30 isles near that of St. John are entirely depopulated, tho of a vast extent; so that there is scarce one inhabitant to be found in them.

" As for the continent, 'tis certain, and what I " myself (says my author) know to be true, that the " Spaniards have ruined ten Kingdoms there bigger " than all Spain, by the commission of all forts of " barbarities and unheard-of cruelties. They have " driven away or killed all the inhabitants; fo that " these Kingdoms are desolate to this day, and reduced " to a most deplorable condition, tho' this was formerly "the best peopled country in the world. We dare " affert, without fear of incurring the reproach of ex-" aggerating, that in the space of these 40 years, in " which the Spaniards exercised their intolerable ty-" ranny in this new World, they have unjustly put to " death above 12 millions of people, counting men, " women and children; and it may be affirmed, with-" out injury to truth, upon a just calculation, that, " during this space of time, above fifty millions have " died in these countries. They had so little re-" gard to the Salvation of their Souls, that they would " not give themselves the trouble so much as to speak " of the Christian Faith and Sacraments to these num-" berlefs multitudes of men and women, whom they " facrificed to their ambition and tyrannies. That " which aggravates the enormity of their crimes is, " that these poor Indians had offered them no injury, " but on the contrary, gave them as much honour as " if they had been fent from Heaven, till wearied " out by repeated massacres, and constrained to be-" take themselves to arms, contrary to their inclina-"tion. But the weapons they used * were neither " capable of defending them, nor offending their " enemies Aa 3

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^{*} Spanish Voyages and Cruelties, pag. 7.

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enemies to any purpose, and were more like those children use to play with, than such as are fit for foldiers to use in war. The Spaniards mounted on horses, armed with launces and swords, passed thro' cities and towns, sparing neither age nor sex, killed women and children, ripped up women with child, that root and branch might be destroyed together, dashed the children against rocks, cast them into rivers, diverting themselves with this brutish sport. They set up gibbets, and hanged thirteen of these poor creatures in honour of Christ and his Apostles, (as the Spaniards blasphemously expressed themselves.") But I am not going to make a full recital of these cruelties, which our author owns to be incredible *.

credible *. "These Spanish cruelties began after the death of Queen Isabella, who died in the year 1504. The Spaniards took the Indians to be fervants, and proposed to instruct them in the Roman Catholic Reliso gion, but committed them to the most ignorant, cruel and covetous of mankind †. Were burning " multitudes in great houses, killing them with greedy dogs, maffacring, robbing and spoiling, proper " methods to perfuade the poor Indians of the excellency of the Christian Religion? In the Kingdom of Yucatan, some Franciscan Friars preached with ce zeal and fuccefs, till 18 Spanish troopers and 12 foot foldiers brought there a number of idols, and fold them to the people at great prices: whereupon the Indians said to the Friars, Why have ye deceived " us by your false promises | ? Did not you assure us the 5 Spaniards should no more invade and oppress us? Why so have you burnt our Gods, to bring us strange Gods out of other countries? Are these better or mightier than our own? After this the Friars thought fit to leave the country, and the Indians were abandoned to " their former darkness and idolatry." The Bishop of St. Martha wrote to the King of Spain, telling him,

^{*} Spanish Voyages and Cruelties, pag. 15, and 92. † Ibidem, pag. 15. || Ibidem, pag. 58.

him *, I am necessitated to let your Majesty know, that the Spaniards who are come into this new world live rather like Devils than Christians; they neither serve God nor the King, they violate all the laws of God and Men with impunity. Nothing can be a greater hindrance to the conversion of the Indians, than the ill treatment and persecution they make them suffer continually. These people naturally love peace and quiet; but the barbarous usage they meet with from the Spaniards, inspires them with horror against all Christians, whom they therefore call in their language Yares, that is to say, Devils. - While the Indians see both officers and soldiers commit such detestable crimes, they believe the laws of Christianity authorises fuch inhuman actions, and that neither God nor our King forbids them. It seems absolutely necessary your Majesty stop the course of these robbers by some exemplary punishment, and that your Majesty declare, you will have none of their services, who so highly dishonour God and Religion.

Who can tell how the Spaniards broke promise and faith to the poor Indians? Killed them, and carried them away into flavery, when they had promised them peace and protection? After the Indian Kings and Great Men had given immense and incredible sums in Gold and Jewels to spare their lives, they burnt them to death with incredible tortures: the exact recital of which, fays our author, would fill the minds of all that read this history with too much horror +, and yet he has wrote a whole book full of them. After all, he fays |, " I shall add no more; that which is most de-" plorable is, that the Spaniards take no care to speak " to these people of the mysteries of our Religion, " nor feem to regard them any more than dogs or " wild beafts; nay, they have forbidden the Monks " and Missionaries to instruct them, whom they have " even perfecuted, and laid a thousand objections in " their way, to hinder them from preaching the Go-" spel to these poor creatures, who passionately desired Aa 4

^{*} Spanish Voyages and Cruelties, pag. 61, 62.

[†] Ibidem, pag. 92. | Ibidem, pag. 99.

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" it; and all because they thought their conversion would be an obstacle to their own covetous designs, and hinder them from getting all the Gold they deif fired. So that these miserable people have been " industriously kept in their former ignorance, and "know no other God than those of wood and stone, " unless it be the people of New-Spain, where the Monks have exercised their function, and have been " fuffered to display their zeal with more freedom. In the other provinces, the Indians perish without Baptism, and no one gives himself the trouble to in-" ftruct them." In another place of his book our author fays *, " The Spaniards undoubtedly have an " obligation upon them to instruct these Indians in the "Doctrine of Christ, but they are so ignorant them-" felves, that 'tis not to be wondred at, if they take " no care to inform others. I know, says be, one " John Colmenero in the ifle of St. Martha, as dull, as "ignorant, and as whimfical a fellow as one could meet with, to whom the care of instructing the Indians in a great city was committed, tho' he " fcarce knew how to make the fign of the Cros; and when he was examined about the course he took to instruct the Indians, could make no other answer, but that he taught them to fay, Per Signin Sanctin " Cruces. How indeed is it possible for the Spaniards to teach the Indians Christianity, when the most " noted Spanish Lords, and fuch as make the greatest " figure in the Indies, scarce know how many Com-" mandments there are? For they go to America only " to gratify their infatiable covetousness; they are ge-" nerally given to all forts of vice, fo immoderate, voluptuous and effeminate, that if a just compari-" fon were made between them and the Indians, the " latter would be found to have more honesty.-"This makes many Indians laugh at the God we "worship, and persist obstinately in their infidelity. "They believe the God of the Christians to be the " worst of Gods, because his worshippers are the worst

* Spanish Voyages and Cruelties, pag. 117 .-

Chap.9. for converting the Heathen.

of men. As for your Majesty, (speaking to the King " of Spain) they think you are the most cruel and " impious Prince in the world, while they fee the " cruelty and impiety of your subjects; and they " verily believe your Majesty lives upon nothing but

" human flesh and blood."

The Lord Bartholomew de las Casas, Bishop of Chiapa, upon his return to Spain, proposed in an assembly of prelates and learned men, whom the King had called together at Valladolid, to reform the affairs of the Indies in the year 1542. That the King of Spain should take the Indians under his protection, and confider them as his lawful subjects; that by this means they may be sheltered and guarded from the continual tyranny and insolence of their enemy the Spaniards, and not be utterly extirpated by massacres, which have been oft committed with impunity; for as fruitful and populous as the new world has been, it will be soon laid entirely waste, if the Spaniards be still suffered to root out the inhabitants, as they have hitherto done. The reasons of this advice are too long to be here inferted; the fum of them may be learned from what is above narrated. They who are curious, may fee them more fully in the book itself, and in the Bishop of Chiapa's dispute with Dr. Sepulveda, who maintain'd the wars of the Spaniards against the Indians to be lawful, as a just punishment of their enormous crimes. learned and laborious Monf. du Pin, has given us an abstract of the life of the Bishop of Chiapa, and of this whole dispute *. Joseph Acosta is of the same opinion with the Bishop of Chiapa, that these wars of the Spamiards were unlawful, and no proper methods to recommend Christianity to the Heathens +. Certainly they were no apostolical, no rational methods, nor such as the Primitive Christians ever used, to persuade the Gentile world to embrace our holy religion. Acosta says ||, The minds of princes and great men are to be dealt with in

† De procuranda Indorum salute, lib. 2. cap. 3, 4, 5.

| Ibid. lib. 2. cap. 18.

^{*} Bibliotheque des Auteurs Ecclesiastiques, Cent. XVI. pag. 64-73. Edition Amsterdam, 1710.

a rational way, that they may be enlightned in the knowledge of Christ, and persuaded to submit to him; and therefore, our people, i. e. the Spaniards, did greatly err in murdering Atabalipa Ynca of Peru; his successors to this day complain of it, and affirm, That if their princes had been once prudently gained, the whole empire of Peru would in a little time have embraced the Christian Faith; for these barbarous people have a wonderful affection

for their kings.

Thirdly, Tho' in feveral parts of this hiftory, and particularly in the former chapter*, I have observed the irreligious methods which the Missionaries of the church of Rome use, in converting the Heathen to a profession of Christianity, according to their superstitious rites; yet I conceive it proper to add a further caution, that Protestants who defire to labour successfully in that work, may beware of these popular ways. And more especially, first, that they act not as the popish Clergy, while they baptized Heathens come to age, without ever instructing them in the principles of the Christian Religion. 'Tis reported of twelve Franciscan friars, that each of them baptized an hundred thousand Indians, and one of them four times that number, asking no more, but, what is their names †? Yea, they baptized vast multitudes all at once, without any previous care to make them Christians, so as these pretended proselytes did not know whether they were baptized or not. converts continued in the practice of their old heathenish idolatry and impiety, never looking to God for his grace, nor amending their life and conversation. Secondty, none can with fuccess labour in the conversion of the heathen, without being able to instruct and speak to them in the language of the country. Every man heard the Apostles speak in his own language, Acts ii. 6. the holy Apostle Paul, inspired by the Spirit of God, spends a whole chapter, viz. 1 Corinth. xiv. against speaking, preaching, or prophefying in an unknown tongue. When the prophet Jeremiab discourses to the Chaldeans,

+ Hottinger Hist. Eccl. Sac. 15. pag. 891.

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^{*} See Ch. VIII. more particularly, from Pag. 410-438.

Chaldeans, of the vanity of their idolatry, he fays, Thus shall ye say unto them, The Gods that made not the beavens and the earth, even they shall perish from the earth, and from under these beavens, Jer. x. 11. He changes his dialect, and speaks in Chaldee, the vulgar tongue of Babylon. To pretend to teach Pagans the Christian Faith, at their first conversion, in the Latin tongue, as the Spaniards did with the Indians, is the most ridiculous folly. This, even the Papists themselves were fometimes fensible of, tho' they took too little care to amend it. Francis Xavier, of whose success in the East Indies, the church of Rome so highly boasts *, fays +, If we understood the language of Japan, I doubt not but very many would be persuaded to embrace Chriflianity; but now we are as dumb statues before them, they speak many things before us, which we understand not, being ignorant of their native tongue: mean time, we are like boys learning the first elements of their language. Thirdly, beware of popish tyranny and cruelty, which has been already described; this made the poor Indian chuse rather to go to hell with his countrymen, than to heaven with the Spaniards. Fourthly, neither must the Heathen, when they embrace Christianity, be allowed in the practice of their old heathenish idolatry, as the Jesuits have done with their converts in China, and in several parts of the East Indies, as has been already illustrated ||. Fifthly, prophaneness, avarice, and the like enormous crimes, are also to be shunned. The Barbarians, fays Acosta t, think all Christians to be the same sort of people with those who come among them, and therefore, their crimes and scandals redound to the infamy of our religion. Sixthly, I shall add the observation of Dr. Geddes, when with great industry he had writ the history of the churches of Malabar and Ethiopia. In his preface to the latter he fays, "There " are four things, whereof, if I'm not mistaken, this " history

^{*} Above, pag. 236-238.

[†] Xavier Epist. lib. 3. Hottinger Hist. Eccl. Szc. 15. pag. 905. Above, Chap. VIII. from Pag. 275—294.

[‡] De procuranda Indorum salute, Lib. 2. cap. 18.-

" history will satisfy the reader; first, that the Roman " Miffionaries, especially the Jesuits, having neither " the gift of miracles, nor of patience, to wait for the " flow iffue of converting nations, by preaching the "Faith to them, are every where they can come at " them, for dispatching the matter with dragoons, or by fome other violent and fanguinary way; the Je-" fuits being all to a man of the fame opinion with " their great Apostle of the Indies, Francis Xavier, " Missionaries without muskets, do never make cone verts to any purpose. The truth of which maxim, " John Bolunte, a missionary Jesuit, tells us, is con-" firmed by universal experience; and that neither in " Brazil, Peru, Mexico, Florida, or the Moluccoes, " have any conversions been made, without the help of "the fecular arm. The fecond is, that there is no ty-" ranny in the world, equal to that which the Roman " prelates, where they have the fecular power at their " command, do continually exercise, and that without " the common relentings of humanity upon all forts of " people, who will not turn to their religion. Thirdly, "that Missionaries, whenever they have inspired a or prince, the main body of whose subjects are anti-pa-" pifts, with a bigotry to introduce their religion into "his country, they either run him out of breath, or " run his head against a wall. Fourthly, that ambition " did very early enter into the Jesuits order, that society " not being above ten years standing in the world, " when it had engroffed a mission to itself, which did " promise both greater and cheaper honours than ever " any mission had done before." These methods are none of them recommended by our Redeemer, nor by his Apostles, but are forged in Antichrist's shop; which the faithful, zealous Christian, who would successfully labour in converting the heathen, must carefully guard against.

Tho' by these means the church of Rome has done no good, yea, have done much harm; yet I will not absolutely affirm, that all their labours in propagating Christianity among the heathen, has done no service.

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Some of their converts may be as profelytes of the gate, the feed of Christianity, and when they shall be more fully instructed, may be useful to promote our religion among the Gentiles, as has been before observed *. The Popish Missionaries have baptized multitudes of infants and adult persons; the abominable human facrifices in Mexico and Peru are abolished in great meafure, fince the Spaniards conquered these countries; and any fort of Christians are, or at least should be better than blinded Heathens. If once the bleffed times were come, when the Angel shall cry with a loud voice, Babylon the great is fallen, is fallen—Come out of ber my people, that ye be not partakers of her fins, and that ye receive not of her plagues +: When the ten horns or kings shall bate the whore, and make her desolate and naked, and shall eat her flesh, and burn her with fire | : When the fulness of the Gentiles shall come in, and all Israel shall be saved : When Jehovah our Redeemer shall be King over all the Earth, in that day there shall be one Lord, and his name one **: If these happy days were come, then all invidious, different denominations of Christians shall be abolished, and then all with one confent shall propagate true Christianity among the Gentiles, and the Kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdoms of the Lord, and of his Christ, and he shall reign for ever and ever. Mean time, we who are enlightned by the Reformation, ought to abhor and abstain from these means set on foot by popish cruelty, delusion and superstition, which the Gospel never allows as the means which God will bless to make converts. For this reafon, I dare not commend most of the advices that even Joseph Acosta offers in his book de procuranda Indorum falute, as being tainted with popish errors; tho' otherwife I have a great value for that author, and for the main delign of that book. But,

Fourthly, I chuse rather to commend the noble examples of Mr. John Eliot, and other Pastors in New

England,

^{*} Above, Chap. VIII. pag. 230.

⁺ Revelation 18. 1-4. | Revel. 17. 11-16.

[‡] Romans 11. 25, 26. ** Zechariah 14. 9.

England, who succeeded him, in their endeavours to convert the Heathens in their neighbourhood; and the Danish Missionaries in the East Indies, of which we have largely discoursed in the former chapter, as excellent patterns for imitation. There we find, those who were employ'd in that work, first carefully studied the language of the natives among whom they were to labour, they gained their affections, they preached frequently, catechifed carefully; they translated the Bible, and other useful books into their language, that their converts might truly understand the foundation of our religion, and that no feducer might impose upon them; they found evidences of real conversion among their proselytes, and continued their pains to add many to the church, and to edify the body of Christ. A careful imitation of such noble patterns may be more profitable than many advices. Those, who thus labour in this work, have ground to hope for fuccess; the Heathens have rational fouls, are docile and willing to receive instruction; they do not labour under such prejudices as Mahometans and Jews; they have good impressions of the capacity of the Europeans to teach them the way to everlasting happiness. And when they find a Missionary free of felfish and base ends, holy and unblameable in practice, feeking only their fouls eternal happiness, they'll be ready to hearken to him. He that winneth fouls is wife*, and they who turn many to righteousness, shall shine as the Stars for ever and ever +.

Fifthly, Care ought to be taken to instruct the Indians dispersed among the Christians in America, and even the Negroe Slaves, in the principles of our religion. Tis a reproach and scandal to Christians, that they have no more concern for the salvation of these slaves, than if they were beasts, yea, in some measure, more care is taken of beasts; for they are allowed to rest on the Lord's Day, whereas the Negroe and Indian servants, most of 'em have no other day in the week to plant their Yams and Potatoes, and to work for their own maintenance, but on that day. I find the honou-

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^{*} Proverbs 11. 30.

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rable Society in England, for progagating the Gospel in foreign parts*, employed and supported Mr. Elias Neau, a plain, zealous layman, at New York, in this work of teaching these servants. He informed the Society by his letters dated July 1. 1703. That there were in these parts a great number of slaves called Negroes, of both sexes, and of all ages, who were without God in the world, and of whose souls there was no manner of care taken; and therefore, 'tis worthy of the charity of this corporation, to endeavour to find out some methods for their instruction, in order to the converting and baptizing them, without any way affecting the property of their masters—That such a harvest would be more plentiful than that of the Indians, if some bonest subsistance were allowed to any good person, for undertaking the office of a catechift among them: And the masters might be obliged to fend, or at least to suffer their slaves to be catechised every Sunday; and the ministers would examine from time to time, what progress is made in improving and faving these poor ignorant souls. The same Mr. Neau in other letters observes, that a great impediment to this good design, was a vulgar prejudice in these parts, that if the Negroes were baptized, they would ceafe to be flaves; tho' neither Law nor Gospel does authorize any such opinion—The French and Spaniards baptize all their slaves, without giving them any temporal liberty. After confidering these reasons, the Society did prevail with the faid Mr. Neau, to undertake the office of a catechift, and promifed to encourage him with a falary of fifty pounds a year; he received a licence from my Lord Cornbury, to catechife the Negroes and Indians, and the children of the town of New York, and for that end left his relation of an elder in the French church. In the discharge of this office, Mr. Neau went from house to house, to catechise Negroe slaves; but finding that inconvenient, he prevailed with their masters to send them every Monday, Wednesday and Friday, at four in the afternoon, to be instructed in the first principles of our religion, and obtained a licence from the Bilhop of London for that end. He likewise defired application might

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^{*} Account of the Society, pag. 58, & feq.

be made to the Governour, to pass an act of assembly, whereby it should be ordered, that all the inhabitants should permit their slaves to be instructed, and that their religion should make no alteration in their condition. The Society for propagating religion, by the advice of one of their members, prepared the draught of a bill to be offered to parliament, for the more effectual conversion of the Negroes and other servants in the plantations. I do not find that it passed into a law; but Mr. Samuel Tomlyns informed the Society by his letter dated March 10th, 1703, that under his encouragement, about 20 Negroes had learned to read; he was acquainting them with the principles of the Christian Religion, and had lately baptized one negroe man, and hoped in a little time to find more fit for that holy institution.— One Mr. Vefey had also converted some Negroes and Indians to the Christian Religion. A pious concern for the falvation of immortal fouls should make every one, as occasion offers, promote so good a work.

Sixtbly, 'Tis advisable, that in remote Pagan countries, where any European Christians have settled colonies, some boys of Heathens should be carefully initiated and instructed in Christianity, and then sent to some of our Universities, and there educated and trained up for the holy ministry. Where the English, Dutch, and Danes, with other European Christians, in the kind providence of God, are possessed of so large territories in Asia, Africa, and America, youths of a promising genius might be eafily looked for, and instructed in the principles of the Christian Religion, taught to speak English, Dutch, French, or other European languages: these being fent to our Schools and Universities in Europe, and there trained up in Religion and Learning, and filled with holy zeal for the good of fouls, might, under the inspection of the Governours, Consuls, and Pastors of those colonies where they were first educated, be employed in this great work, and thro' the divine bleffing, might be capable of doing much good. 'Tis frequently observed by M. Cerri, Secretary to the Congre-

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Congregation de Propaganda Fide, That one of these natives so educated, does more good than many Missionaries fent from Europe. When discoursing of the ruin of Christianity in Japan, he says *, But if the natives had been ordained priests, it would have prevailed to this very day, notwithstanding all persecutions. Joseph Acosta is of the same mind, that the natives, when rightly educated, are most proper for this work +. The Missionaries fent from Europe, take a great deal of time before they can learn the language of the country to which they are fent; and even when that is done, they are so unacquainted with the people and their customs. are fo frightned and maletreated with reproaches, indignities and perfecutions, and fo often straitned as to their subsistence, that they frequently desert their misfion, or are not able to accomplish the ends thereof. But these inconveniencies are more easily shunned by fuch, who, from their infancy, were acquainted with the language, customs and manners of the people, among whom they are to labour; especially, when there is a competent number of them to strengthen one another's hands in the work, and under the inspection of faithful and zealous patrons, who can direct, protect, support and affift them.

The learned Walaus || recommends a feminary for educating youth in our colleges, who may be afterward employed to convert the Indians. Particularly he is of opinion, that special care should be taken, that youths trained up for these ends, should be of known piety, prudence, zeal and diligence: that they be instructed in the knowledge of divinity, and in the controversies we have with Mahometans, Jews and Gentiles; in the cuftoms and languages of the countries where they are to ferve: that trial be taken of them, not only by the masters and professors of the

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^{*} Account of the Roman Catholick Religion, pag. mihi 130.

[†] De procuranda Indorum salute, lib. 4. cap. 8. pag. 379. Antonii Walzi Opera, Tom. II. pag. 437. Necessitas ac forma Collegii seu Seminarii Indici.-

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University, but also by the classis or presbytery in the bounds, that their qualifications for this work may be the more evident: being thus found qualified, they may be sent and encouraged with ships going to the Indies, to labour in that work of converting the natives. The zeal of the Church of Rome, in their College for propagating the Faith, ought to excite Protestants to the like endeavours; not to propagate their own opinions, to make proselytes to a party, and subject foreigners to a Roman Pontisf, but to turn sinners from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God; that they may receive the forgiveness of sins, and an inheritance among them that are fantisfied; to promote true Christianity over the world, and to use all pro-

per means for attaining fo good an end.

While I am upon this subject of educating youth for this great end of Propagating Christianity, I cannot but remark, as before I promifed +, and I conceive it deferves to be observed with pleasure, admiration, and thankfulness to God, that the piety, learning and diligence of Dr. August Herman Frank, professor of Divinity at Hall in Saxony, this way, has been crowned with remarkable fuccess. His design took its first rife from an inconfiderable beginning, an alms-box placed at his itudy door, into which some poor mites were thrown, whereby books were bought for poor scholars; then, by unexpected supplies, a noble project was set on foot, which was afterwards enlarged fo, as a houle and public scools were erected. Frankius himself, is a person wonderful for vast erudition, shining piety, and matchless industry, which God has blessed to advance the Kingdom of Christ in the world, so as he has done more within these thirty years or thereabouts, than one would think should require a whole Century. In order to advance the Kingdom of Christ, he began to communicate divine knowledge to a few poor ignorants; his intention being divulged, God stirred up the hearts of men far and near, to fend their bounties, which enabled him to build a capacious Orphan house, e

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where he has lodged, fed and cloathed a number of poor children, and by tutors flaming with true piety, bestowed a religious education upon them, till they are fent forth to proper employments, or the riper wits among them fet apart for the University. The number of persons thus nourished in the Orphan house, is near 500, who have been subsisted above 20 years, by an amazing providence, by the charity of well-disposed persons in several parts of Europe; they have lived, and still do, like the Israelites upon the Manna rained from heaven. In the University is taught pure Religion and undefiled, accompanied with all forts of humane Literature. The German school has about 1600 fcholars *, in 32 classes, and 8 tutors. The Latin, Greek and Hebrew, has 14 classes, 26 tutors, and above 300 scholars, where vast numbers are taught for nothing, others for a small Didastrum of about 24 shillings a year of our money. The education in these schools, is advanced with such a strain of piety, the tutors keep so exact discipline, with such paternal tenderness and clemency, and yet with such effectual cogency, that it were to be defired, that all our schools were managed by fuch rules as the Pietas Hallensis has exemplified. The Frederician University, so called from its patron the King of Prussia, is under the government of five professors, viz. Dr. Frankius, Dr. Buthaup, Dr. Antonius, Dr. Michaelis, and Dr. Langius; 'tis one of the most flourishing in the world, having more than 3000 students reforting to it from all parts of Europe. Piety is still the main concern, the students are not fent forth with testimonials to the ministry, till it appear by lively fymptoms that they know what it is to live to God, and, by Faith on the Son of God, to hate all fin, and flight this world, to have a foul reconciled with low and mean circumstances here, and an heart fet upon doing good, willing to be at any pains for it, and have nothing fo much at heart as how to advance the Kingdom of Christ in this world. Bb 2 not

^{*} See Pietas Hallensis, and Dr. Cotton Mather's brief Account of good Things doing for the Kingdom of God in Europe.

not needful now to enlarge on the many lessons and fermons they have in their public auditory upon their dining-room, where they are agreeably entertained; their Nosocomium, where their fick are provided for, with fuitable instructions and proper medicines; their Pædagogium Regium, where the fons of men of quality are educated, it has about 100 scholars, most of them strangers; the famous Fregerus is their inspector. Their Gynecæum, for young gentlewomen taught at the expence of their parents; and in another house are taught indigent women, especially those who fly from popish persecutions. Their Cherotrophea, where poor widows are supported. Their English house, in which are a number of English scholars, whose work is to translate out of, or into English, books of piety. And their Collegium Orientale Theologicum, where many, and even fome Greek youths among them study the oriental tongues, that they may be capable to advance piety in the more eastern parts of the world. Here is also Præceptorum Seminarium, or a nursery for tutors, in which they who are defigned for the tuition of others, do fpend a couple of years to be furnished with skill and grace for that employment. Hence have gone forth well-accomplished tutors, not only for Frankius schools, but for several other parts of Germany and Europe. There is likewise a Seminary for Catechisers, and an Officina Pharmaceutica, belonging to the orphanhouse, where eminent physicians have odged their bett Arcana. There are Printing-Presses, which have brought forth books, which have had an incredible influence on promoting true piety even in remote countries; the warmth of them has reached as far as Siberia, a remote cold country in Muscovy, whence came letters to the Doctor, filled with praises to God for the good these books have done. But above all, hence have proceeded innumerable copies, and many editions of the Holy Bible, at a cheaper rate than ever was in Germany; that these waters of the sanctuary may run into all the corners of the earth, and refresh the congregation of the poor. Here the Scriptures have been published in

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the Sclavonic tongue for the poor Bohemians and Hungarians; in the vulgar Greek or Romaic, with the authentic Greek on the other fide, as a present to the poor Greek Church under Mahometan oppression. The German Bibles are at so easy a rate, as more of them has been fold of late in a few years than in a whole age before. This glorious example has awakened the like zeal for scattering Bibles in other places thro' the earth. The world begins to feel a warmth from this divine fire, which thus flames in the heart of Germany, may the whole universe be sensible of it! It has reached even to the East-Indies, the Gospel of the glorious God has been carried to the coasts of Malabar, by the Danish Missionaries educated in these schools, who deferve to be reckoned among the best of men, of whom we have more fully heard in the former chapter. I doubt not, but from this Noble Seminary many other Missionaries may be had, for labouring in the converfion of other parts of the Heathen World. Hence it may be demonstrated, how much the Roman Missionaries are out, when they go about to confine the spirit of charity to their Church. The reading of the book, entitled, Pietas Hallensis, which contains this narrative more fully, and of which there are many copies, editions and translations, (that before me is printed at London in 1705.) does give many remarkable evidences of the hearing of prayer, of relief in straits, and of a divine providence protecting and prospering such works of charity designed for his glory. May other nations, and we in this island, imitate fo noble an example! For this reason I have insisted more fully on it.

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To this end, I shall also offer a later account, from letters bearing date at Hall in Saxon, November 24th, 1719, by this eminent and learned Dr. August Herman Frank, to the Secretary of the Society at London for promoting Christian Knowledge. I take notice of only a part of the letter, where he says *, "Thus it has pleased Bb 3 "God

^{*} The Copy before me, is, with feveral Letters relating to the Protestant Danish Mission at Tranquebar, printed at London in 1720.

"God, and still pleases him, to bless these pious in-" stitutions which he has entrusted to my care, and to " endow them with an extraordinary fund of his pecu-" liar providence, and to furnish us with supplies every " way necessary for the present, tho' not for the future " wants and occasions. For tho' there arises some " yearly income from the library and apothecary's " shop, yet considering that 600 students and scholars " have the benefit of eating twice a day at free cost, " and that above 2000 boys and girls have almost all their learning free in our schools, under the care of " near 150 mafters, regulated by certain rules and " methods, and that poor fick people, both of the " town and neighbouring villages, have the advice of "the physician of the hospital, and the necessary me-" dicines given them gratis; not to mention falaries of "the fervants, expences required for raising new " buildings, and keeping them in repair: - Con-" fidering all this, it will evidently appear, that our " yearly revenues would fall far short of maintaining a " work of this nature, without extraordinary supplies " and donations, which by divine providence are trans-" mitted to us. — In the mean time, this example " alone without a narrative has, God be praifed, been " of fuch influence, as to invite feveral others in Ger-" many to imitate our honest endeavours of this kind: " for, in these late years, many Orphan-houses and "Alms-houses have been purposely erected, and pro-" vided with good laws; others have been repaired " and brought under better regulations. For proof " whereof, not only do these serve that have been " erected at the public expence, as those of Leipsic, " Gotha, Berlin, Slefwic, Stargard, Coburg, Zittaw, " &c. but those especially that have been set up, and " now fubfift without the help of a fufficient fund, as " by occasional donations, and providential supplies, " which is the main of what they have to depend " upon. Some of these have been begun and conti-" nued by private persons, viz. one by an Inspector in " the country of Limburg, another by a Pastor of s Stolberg,

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" Stolberg, another by a Professor of the Reformed " Religion at Marpurg, and another by a Waggoner at Langendorf in our neighbourhood, who to that " end fold his cart, horses, &c. There are others "which are maintained both ways, partly at the " charge of the public, and partly by charitable gifts; " of which number we may justly mention that of " Weimar, Etingen, Widingen, Laubach, Hacken-" burgh, Nortling, &c. where most of those who are " principally concerned in the management and go-" vernment, are fuch, as are either our intimate " friends, or correspondents. Among the number of " alms-houses, that of Augsburgh deserves a particular " notice: this, from a very small beginning of three " or four persons, who, in full confidence of affistance " from above, at first undertook that work, has, by " a success of about 20 years, increased to that de-" gree, that now a confiderable number of boys, " girls, men and women, are fed and entertained in a " house both large and handsome. They are dili-" gently instructed in Religion, as well as in other " useful employments: it has also now obtained the " authority of the magistrate to confirm the same. " Neither must I omit mentioning the orphan-house, " which is founded with like defign at Hirschfeld in " Hassia, by that excellent man Dr. Mell, a famous di-" vine of the Reformed Confession, which, as I passed " that way two years ago, gave me a very fensible " fatisfaction. A certain Paftor who was formerly one " of my auditors, began one at Effen in East-Friesland, " upon his own private motion without any fettled " income, and has continued it to this day with re-" markable fuccefs. Not to mention how providen-" tially many have been stirred up to a more accurate " inspection and reformation of methods used in schools, " and to the erecting of new ones in conformity to " our schools here, and to the royal Pædagogy in " particular. This we have had the pleasure of ob-" ferving in feveral places, but especially at Konigs-" burg in Prussia, at Halberstadt, Magdeburg, &c. B b 4

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see felves in the hearts of men, otherwise divided and 66 separated by the distance of place, and by different " customs and interests, 'tis but just to ascribe to Al-" mighty God, who is the author of them. We have all the reason to hope, that a glorious increase of " Christianity will rife and enfue, according to the usual " methods of divine providence, from these private " and less promising beginnings, and that notwithstand-"ing all the force and policy of hell to obstruct " it." After what has been faid concerning the methods of education of those who may be fent to propagate the Gospel among the Heathen, and the good things a-doing in Europe, with relation to this and other

valuable purposes, I proceed,

In the Seventh place to observe, that special care should be had, that those who are sent to remote parts of the world upon this errand, should be men of sufficient abilities, endowed with knowledge of the truths of God, capable to speak the language of the people to whom they are fent, or who will apply themselves to learn it, before they enter upon that work; that they be of a holy and blameless conversation, moved by a pious zeal for the glory of God and the good of his Church; patient to endure hardships and difficulties, prudent to deal with the humours of the people, ferious in practical Godliness, and furnished with fortititude of body and mind for fo great a work. learned Jesuit Joseph Acosta, gives but a forry account of the popish priests who were first sent to convert the Indians in Peru *, faying, That the priests repeated the Creed with some prayers and offices twice or thrice a week to these people in Spanish, of which the Indians understood not one syllable, nor could they pronounce one single word in that language; and the priests gave the Indian boys something in form of a Catechism in the Indian tongue, which they obliged them to repeat; but their teachers understood nothing of it, nor could explain it to their scholars.

De procuranda Indorum salute, Lib. 4. cap. 3. pag. 358.

In another place he fays *, The parish priests were given to leachery and uncleanness, were guilty of avarice and unlawful ways of making gain and usury; did game at cards and dice night and day, a whole year's salary would be demolished at one throw. They spent their time in bunting and bawking in the fields, but would grudge at a minute employed upon religious purposes. The Man of God should flee these things, and follow after Righteousness, Godliness, Faith, Love, Patience, Meekness, I Tim. vi. 11. Acosta also mentions the careless profane way † in which these priests administred the Sacraments, and that some of them maintained, Men may be saved without the knowledge of Christ ||: Whom he justly refutes, fince there is no Salvation in any other, nor any other name under heaven given among men whereby we must be saved, Acts iv. 12. It was the Apostle Paul's constant work to preach among the Gentiles, the unsearchable riches of Christ, Eph. iii. 8. They who neglect and despise this doctrine, can never convert the Heathen. Indeed, great care should be taken to instruct them in the fundamentals of the Christian Religion, to catechife them, and by frequent prayers and fermons, to awaken them to a fuitable concern for their own falvation, and, fo foon as they are capable, to adminifter the Sacraments to them.

Eighthly, If we would propagate Religion in Foreign Parts, we ought to reform our felves at home, that a holy warmth of fincere piety may so burn in our hearts, as would prompt us to spend and be spent for promoting the Kingdom of Christ in every part of the world. Alas! Iniquity prevails in city and country, we are like to dwindle into the empty form of a profession, and become strangers to the real power of Godliness. The Reformation has little advanced, but rather declined this last Century. 'Tis lamentable, that Popish Idolatry should increase in a Protestant

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^{*} De procuranda Indorum falute, Lib. 4. cap. 15. contra Abusus Indicorum Parochorum.

⁺ Ibidem, Lib. 6. cap. 2.

Ibidem, Lib. 5. cap. 3. pag. 441.

Country, and that so little care should be taken to bring over the popish natives in Ireland to the Protestant Religion. Mr. Richardson has published an history of the attempts to convert these natives to the established Religion, but little is done to advance that The Bible is indeed printed in their langood design. guage, which is one good step, and if a competent number of perfons of piety and pregnant parts, who from their infancy understood their language and cuftoms, were fent and encouraged to labour in the work of the ministry among them, there might be hopes of comfortable fuccess. This would strengthen the Protestant Interest in Ireland, secure the peace and prosperity of that nation, would glorify God, and advance our holy Religion. Many other things might be done for Reformation of Manners, and promoting piety, for checking profaneness, reclaiming the vicious, curbing atheifm, and profane irreligious mocking at the Scriptures and Sacred Things, which I must leave to be managed by others. Let every man reform his own heart and life, his own family, and every Pastor his own Congregation, and promote pure Religion accordin to his station in the place where he is concerned; then shall we be also careful to advance the same in the remote parts of the world, wherever providence shall open a door. When the Spirit is poured out from on high, the wilderness shall be a fruitful field, judgment shall dwell in the wilderness, and righteougness remain in the fruitful field.

Finally, Kings, Princes, and States ought to promote this work of propagating Religion among the Heathen. The great examples of the noble Emperors Constantine and Theodosius the Great, Charlemaign, Louis le Debonaire, and others, whose names are famous among posterity; their Works praise them in the gate, and their care to propagate Christianity, which has been mentioned in this history, should excite others in this age to imitate so noble patterns. By our blessed Redeemer Kings reign, and Princes decree justice; they should then employ that power they have from him for his

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glory and fervice; this would make their crowns to flourish on their heads, and their praises to be in all the churches. 'Tis true, force and compulsion, violence and persecution are not to be used, only rational and foul-convincing means are proper to reclaim finners from the error of their way: yet princes and fovereigns may support and encourage Missionaries, may protect their persons, defray their necessary expences, and reward their pious endeavours. Kings are nursing Fathers to the Church, Isaiah xlix. 24. When the glory of the Lord is risen upon the Church, then Gentiles shall come to thy light, and Kings to the brightness of thy rising, Isaiah lx. 3. They shall add a lustre to the government of Christ's house. They may employ governours and deputies of real piety, and flaming zeal for the interest of religion, in pagan countries afar off. Even the heathen Romans, in their remote provinces, made always choice of persons of great abilities, not meerly such, whose birth and circumstances made such a profitable office neceffary to them, but whose merit and capacity rendered them fit for it. They may take care by wholesome laws, that converts to Christianity be protected in their persons and goods; that they be not oppressed by immoderate taxations, or obliged to work in mines, or too hard fervice; but that they may be encouraged and taught in the pleasure and profit of our holy religion. It every one in their station did use their best endeavours to advance the kingdom of Christ, then should converts to the Gospel Church be as the sand on the shore, peace should flow as a river, and righteousness as the waves of the fea.

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To all that has been advanced I shall add, that the reverend Mr. William Stevenson, Chaplain to the honourable East India Company at Fort St. George, gives his opinion for rendering the Protestant Mission to the East Indies, by the bleffing of God, more effectual for gaining the Heathen to true Christianity; in a letter to the Secretary of the Society at London for promoting Christian Knowledge. The letter is printed in the year 1721, but bears date at Fort St. George on the coast of Coromandel,

27th December 1716. I promised before to take notice of it *, and the same being suitable to my present purpose, as containing many excellent advices for promoting Christianity in these parts of the world, if this age had a disposition to receive and practise them, I here give the following abstract thereof.

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give the following abstract thereof. He fays, " Let me now first point out the chief im-" pediments that hinder this glorious work, and the " reasons that induce me to hope for success in it; and "then I shall propose those methods, that I think are " most likely to promote the conversion of the Hea-"then. One of the greatest hindrances to this excel-" lent defign, is the want of a fufficient number of " Missionaries and Catechists to carry it on. Mr. Zie-" genbalg and Mr. Grundler have not the power of " working miracles, and yet it feems miracles are ex-" pected from them. What they have already done, " shews them to be laborious and indefatigable; they " have laid a good foundation, by translating and " printing many useful books in the Malabar language: but this, and the charge of their schools, and their " adult converts must employ them so constantly, "that they are confined as it were within the bounds of "Tranquebar, where two Missionaries will always be " necessary; and there must be others sent up into the " country to instruct the natives, settle schools in the " villages, and labour continually to promote both "the knowledge and practice of religion among them. "But in this I foresee another obstacle, if it be not sea-" fonably prevented, and that is, the mixing of disputable opinions with the plain and necessary dostrines of the "Gospel. For, Sir, the natives here are generally a " quick and penetrating people, who labour under too " frong prejudices from their education, which ought " not to be increased, by proposing to them any " scheme of controverted opinions. Nothing ought to " be taught among them but the plain and unquestionable truths of the Christian Faith. A third hindrance that must be expected, is, the violent opposicc tion

^{*} Above, Pag. 315.

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" tion that the Romish priests will make, when they find " that the Protestant Missionaries begin to gain ground, " and to meet with success in converting the natives. The " scheme of Popery is so very opposite to the Genius " and Doctrine of the Gospel, that the Indians will be " extremely furprized at hearing fuch different accounts " of the Christian Religion; and seeing that both cannot " be in the right, they will be apt to suspect the whole. "This prejudice however may be overcome by our " Protestant Missionaries, who can easily confute the " Romish priests by the very same arguments that they " urge against the Heathen Idolatry, and by appealing " to the Holy Scriptures, which the Papifts themselves " own to be divine. Another impediment will be occa-" fioned by the ill example of those, who profess the " Christian Religion; but this prejudice will be strongest " in their minds who live among the Europeans, and " may be overcome in a great measure by the pious and " prudent deportment of the Missionaries, Catechists, " and Schoolmasters, who must be employ'd chiefly in " the country, where there are no Europeans to be feen " besides themselves. But the greatest obstacle of all, " is that unaccountable spirit of bigotry and mad zeal that " the natives have for their several Casts or Sects; for " the fake whereof the generality of them are ready " to facrifice their lives, and every thing that's dear to "them *. These Casts or Parties are distinguished " from one another, not only by their different modes " of superstition, and observances of what they reckon " facred; but likewise by many other little customs " and usages in common life, as in their food, eating, " habit, trades, &c. For any one of which customs, " or their feveral privileges, they quarrel with as much " fury and rage as our fects and parties in Europe. To " lose their Cast, or to be abandoned and excommuni-" cated by it, is what they reckon the greatest evil in " the world; if the dread of this can be once overcome, " there will be no great difficulty in their conversion. " I am informed, that this bigotry is not fo great in

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^{*} See of these Casts above, Pag. 140-142.

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46 the country as we find it in fea-port towns among the Europeans, where the Casts rival one another in co point of trade and business; and these political

" feuds heighten their zeal or rage against one another on account of their other observances, which they

call Religious and Sacred. Thefe, Sir, are the main impediments that are most likely to obstruct the

conversion of the Indians; most of the hindrances I

"have mentioned may be effectually removed, if proor per measures be concerted at home, and executed

here with fuitable care and application.

Let me now lay before you the reasons I have to hope for fuccess in this difficult but generous undertaking. First, The reasonableness of the Chriftian Religion gives me great hopes, that it will meet with a ready reception among the Heathen. For " fince the great defign of the Gospel is to teach men the " most perfect system of morality, and such other imor portant truths as reason alone could not have discoe vered, and to enforce the practice of all virtue and

" piety, by the most moving considerations of the " greatest rewards, and the most terrible punishments;

a scheme of Religion that's so agreeable to the no-

" tions of mankind, and contains nothing but what rea-

" fon must approve and acquiesce in, which gives us fuch just and worthy thoughts of Almighty God,

" and the great end and defign of our life: I fay, " fuch a scheme of doctrines as this, which is in it self

" fo rational, noble and confiftent, and supported by " the most convincing proofs that the nature of such

c truths is capable of; bespeaks, the regard and atten-

co tion of mankind, and powerfully infinuates it felt, ee even upon a prejudiced spirit.-

"Miracles were necessary in the apostolical times,

because the Gospel was to be preached throughout

"the world in a short time, and by a few persons, "whose lives and labours, without the power of mi-

" racles, could not have been fufficient to have pro-

" pagated the Gospel with sufficient success: but now "the truth of those miracles, which the Apostles Chap.9. for converting the Heathen.

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383 " wrought every where, is as well attefted, and is as " convincing a proof to fincere and unbyaffed minds. " as if we had feen them with our own eyes: and a " considerable number of Missionaries may be em-" ployed in the leveral parts of the world, and by af-" fiduous labour and application, they may, in a course " of many years, gain over great numbers to Chri-" stianity, without the help of miracles, by the divine " bleffing. The Apostles had the wonderful gift of " tongues, which was then absolutely necessary; but " now the want of that gift may be supplied in a great " degree, by fludy and labour in a natural way; and "when our own diligence and charitable endeavours " may accomplish the conversion of the Heathen, "there is no reason to expect or wait for the power " of miracles. But if Almighty God should think fit " to vouchfafe a miraculous power, it must be to those " who use all other industrious methods that prudence, " zeal and charity can suggest: for the use of natural " means cannot possibly hinder the course of such super-" natural helps as God may be pleafed at length to " impart. But tho' it may be questioned, whether "the power of miracles be now necessary, we have no " reason to doubt, but that Almighty God will ac-" company the preaching of the Gospel to the Hea-"then, with a double portion of his spirit and grace, " which may have the same effect and influence upon " their minds, as if they faw the most astonishing " miracles. God will blefs the preaching of the Gospel " with fuch measures of spiritual affistance, as shall be " necessary, to counter-ballance the prejudices of the "Heathen, and dispose them to a favourable recep-

" tion of the truth. "The quick capacity of the natives, is another " reason to hope for their speedy conversion to Chri-" flianity; I don't mean their skill and ingenuity in all " manual arts, wherein they feem to excel the com-" mon artificers in Europe, and fometimes outdo the " most ingenious, tho' they will use but sew, and

" those but clumfy tools, in finishing the nicest pieces

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" of work. They are no less remarkable for their " skill in arithmetic, and their easy and expeditious " way of calculating the most difficult sums and proof portions, after a manner unknown to Europeans; " this is reckoned but a vulgar attainment among one " Cast of them, there being a great number that excel in it. They shew no less art and address in their common affairs and business, some of them being " mafters of a more refined policy and diffimulation, "than most can imagine; and all of them, as far as " ever I could observe, shew greater fagacity, a " quicker fancy, and readier apprehension even of moral "truths, than our common people at home do. I was " never better pleased than in seeing, for tho' I heard, " I did not understand, Mr. Ziegenbalg preach to a " croud of them, for they shewed so much attention, " and feemed so extremely pleased with his undertaking " a voyage from Europe to instruct them, and with " his humble and familiar way of converfing with 66 them in their own language; and as he afterward " told me, they understood him so easily, and made " fuch pertinent objections about the Refurrection, " and other points, that I thought it was great pity, " fuch numbers of ingenious and feemingly well difof posed people, should not have some able Missio-" naries fent out to instruct them.

"Seeing they are fo fagacious and inquisitive, it cannot be thought strange, that the großness of their
fuperstition, and their absurd belief, should give me
fome hopes of their conversion: for the they are

on to capable of making fuch just reflections as might supple size them and free them from the lasting pre-

" undeceive them, and free them from the lasting prei judices of education, yet if they were addressed with

or proper arguments, there could be no great difficulty in convincing them, That their forefathers were im-

co posed upon, and that their notions and practices are foolish and absurd.

"The auftere and abstemious life that the *Indians* generally lead, gives me some reason to believe, that they might easily be converted to the Christian

"that they might eafily be converted to the Christian

Chap. 9. for converting the Heathen. 38

"Faith and Practice; they would find but little difficulty in the hard and shocking doctrines of temperance, felf-denial, poverty, and contempt of the World, for these unpleasing doctrines are in some measure natural to them. Rice is their daily food; their head and middle only are covered with linen; they lie upon the ground; and for houses, have only such huts as can skreen them from cold, winds and rain: since they are thus contented and happy with the necessaries of life, they do not lie under any great temptation to covetousness, pride, ambi-

" tion and envy.

" best purposes.

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" Another thing which I think must somewhat dif-" pose them to embrace the doctrine of the Gospel, " is their evenness of temper, and freedom from vio-" lent anger, to which Europeans are generally subject. "They reckon paffion a mean unmannerly thing, and " can scarce help smiling, when they see others angry " and railing at them in the feverest manner. They take " every thing in good part, and do not feem to be moved "by the highest provocation. If ever passion " rages among all forts of them, 'tis upon account of " their Casts, for which they think they cannot shew " too much zeal and concern; but in their ordinary " conversation they shew the greatest temper, mildness " and good nature. Upon fo good a stock of natural "dispositions as they generally have, the Christian " virtues might be easily grafted and cultivated to the

" In fine, their acknowledgment of one true God, and of a future state, and the just notions they have of many moral virtues, gives us reason to believe,

"that they are already somewhat prepared for embracing the other principles of the Christian Reliscient par have they only a notion of these things

"gion; nor have they only a notion of these things, but some of them shew as great a regard to them in

" their practice, as most Christians do.

"Sir, Having thus pointed out to you the chief hindrances to the propagation of the Gospel in this part of the world, and the great encouragements Vol. II.

" we have to attempt it; I shall now propose to you " those methods that I think might be most effectual " in profecuting this necessary work. To begin at "the very fource and foundation of it, it will be "thought proper, I suppose, and practicable, so to " unite the hearts and endeavours of the feveral Socie-" ties in England, Denmark and Germany, who have e engaged to support the Protestant Mission, that lay-" ing afide all diftrust and jealoufy of one another, " concerning the point of national honour, in carrying " on this defign, and all partiality and prejudices in 66 favour of their feveral schemes and opinions, they " may agree to promote the glory of God, and the " conversion of the Heathen by all proper methods and perfors, without disputing about rights, pre-" cedence or superior direction. Such an union may be begun and carried on by frequent correspondence " and friendly communication of advice and affiftance " to each other, and by fuch regulations as they shall " agree upon for the most speedy and successful ma-" nagement of their affairs. When one common Society for promoting the Pro-

"When one common Society for promoting the Protestant Mission is happily formed, one of the first
things that can fall under their consideration, is, how
to raise a sufficient fund for carrying on so great a
work, towards which 'tis but reasonable, that all charitable Christians will readily contribute. It is not
possible to make an exact calculation of the annual
Expences that will be necessary to subsist the Missionaries, and others to be employed under them. But
their yearly charge here, in India, cannot be computed less than 3000 l. Besides this fund for expences,
it were to be wished, that there were colleges erected
in Europe, for training up Missionaries, and teaching
the languages that are necessary for them, viz. the
Malabar, Gentu, Moorish and Portugueze tongues,
in each of which they might be somewhat instructed,

" before they come abroad; but chiefly in the Mala" barian and the Portugueze, which is the Lingua
" Franca used throughout the coast of Coromandel.

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"From such Seminaries, the Mission must be sup-"plied from time to time, with at least eight well qualified ministers, to reside in *India*; and if a greater number could be sent out, they might be very usefully employed in so great a harvest as here offers.

"Two of these Missionaries will always find sufficient employment at Tranquebar, where a college
might be erected for training up catechists and
schoolmasters, for the service of the mission. There
will be occasion for another Missionary to reside at
Fort St. George; and perhaps for one at Fort St.
David's, to educate school-masters, take the charge
of schools to be erected in and about these settlements, and to facilitate a correspondence among the
other Missionaries, whose business it must be to
travel up into the country, with catechists and assistants, there to preach to the natives, settle schools
in their villages, and distribute among them abstracts of the Christian Religion, engraven or written
on the most durable materials.

"For the better management of the whole work, the Missionary who shall reside at Fort St. George, and one of those at Tranquebar, might be invested with some authority over the rest, to direct their progress, and stations, determine their differences, and negotiate the affairs of their mission; and it seems no less necessary, that some of them be impowered to ordain Gentile proselytes to the ministry.

"To prevent all disputes about Religion, and sur"ther the propagation of it among the natives, it
"will be necessary, that not only a short abstract of
"the Christian Doctrine, but likewise a Larger Cate"chism, containing all proper, especially practical in"struction, be composed by some judicious members
"of the Society in Europe, for the use of the mission;
"and that no fort of books be printed or used by any
"of the Missionaries, but such as shall be approved
and recommended by the Society.

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"That the itinerant Catechifts, Missionaries, &c., may not be molested nor interrupted, they must be powerfully recommended to the favour and protection of the Governors at Fort St. George and Tranquebar; who, by their letters, testimonial and re-

" commendatory, may procure not only protection from the Governours of the inland provinces, but

" likewise their favour and good-will to the Missionaries and their assistants.

66 Since the fuccess of the

"Since the fuccess of the mission in some measure depends upon the abilities and good conduct of the persons to be employed in it, the greatest care must

be had in chusing them, that none may be fent,

" but such as are learned and laborious, and remarkable for their prudence, good temper and Christian

« zeal.

"It will be necessary, that the Missionaries hold a punctual correspondence, and frequent conferences with one another, on any particular emergence, and transmit copies of them from time to time, both to Fort St. George and Tranquebar, to be thence for-

" warded to the Society in Europe.

" One of the most effectual ways the Missionaries can take to propagate the Gospel among the natives, and procure their good-will, is to begin charity-fehools in their villages, and to stay several days among them, in teaching and instructing the more advanced in age; and they must leave a school-

" master in every considerable place, to teach their children to read, write, and cast accompts after their

" own way: to which villages the Missionaries ought to return again, to visit, instruct and encourage such

as feem inclined to embrace the Christian Religion,

" and may leave a catechift among them, when they make converts, or ordain him a minister, and settle

" a Church in any place where they meet with fufficient fuccess.

"It being absolutely necessary, that they who undertake the conversion of the Heathen, live strictly

" according to that pure and holy Religion they teach

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"and profess; the Missionaries must not only set a shining example of piety and all heroic virtue, but they must keep up the strictest order and discipline among those that assist them, lest any disorder in their lives should give offence and scandal to the natives, and obstruct their conversion: And therefore, none ought to be employed as Catechists, till they have sufficient proofs of their sincerity and stedsast-

"Thus, Sir, I have freely communicated to you my thoughts concerning the most effectual way of propagating the Gospel in this part of the world, which I freely submit to the judgment of the Honou-rable Society. I am sensible the proposals I have made are too general, and defective in many particulars; for I designed only to mention such things as to me seem essential and necessary." I am,

SIR,
Your most obedient Servant,
WILLIAM STEVENSON.

If these and other proper methods were religiously followed, who knows how soon a Divine Blessing might crown them with success? and the sulness of the Gentiles might be gathered to Christ. Wherever pious endeavours were used by good men, they were always attended with some desirable fruit, which did more than recompence their labours.

I proceed now to offer a few arguments to excite us to act with holy zeal and concern in promoting the conversion of the heathen. In the first place, a very great part of the world is at this day under woful ignorance of God, the times of Gentilism are called the times of ignorance *, the Gentiles are said not to know God +, to be without God ||, to sit in darkness ‡. The Pagan nations

are faid to be the dark places of the Earth, that are full of the habitations of cruelty **. This woful ignorance is the fource and fountain from which a deluge of evils

Cc 3

^{*} Acts 17. 30. + Gal. 4. 8. || Eph. 2. 22. ‡ Matth. 4. 16. ** Pialm 74. 20.

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does fpring. When they knew not God, they glorified bim not as God, neither were thankful, but became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkned; professing themselves to be wise, they became fools, and changed the Glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like unto corruptible man, and to birds and four-footed beasts, and creeping things. Wherefore God gave them up to uncleanness—to a reprobate mind, to do those things which are not convenient, being filled with all unrighteousness, fornication, wickedness, covetousness, maliciousness, full of envy, murder, debate, deceit, malignity, whisperers, backbiters, baters of God, despiteful, proud, boasters, inventers of evil things, disobedient to parents, without understanding, covenant breakers, without natural affection, implacable, unmerciful*. These evils of sin do bring down all miseries upon them; they are in the region and shadow of death, dead in sins and trespasses, wherein in time past they walked according to the course of this world, according to the prince of the power of the air, the spirit that now worketh in the children of disobedienceand were by nature children of wrath +. The way of falvation is bid from them. They are in the path that leads to eternal ruin, for Christ will be revealed from beaven in flaming fire, to take vengeance on them that know not God, and obey not the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, who shall be punished with everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord, and the glory of his power ||. This deplorable condition of fo great a part of the world, under heathenish infidelity and idolatry, as described in the seventh chapter of this hiftory, should move our hearts to pity them, and to use all endeavours to deliver them from the fnare of the devil, the enemy of mankind, who feeks only to make them sharers of those eternal miseries prepared for him and his angels; and to bring them into the Kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ, that they may share of his purchase, and to eternity may fing the praises of him who has redeemed us to God, by his blood, out of every kindred and tongue, and people, and nation. Secondly,

^{*} Romans 1. 21-32.

⁺ Ephef. 2. 1, 2, 3.

Secondly, The fending of the Gospel to these nations, and spreading the knowledge of God among them. would be a proper mean to prevent these miseries, and a choice remedy to all these evils. When the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, then there shall be a bleffed change upon the hearts and lives of men, the wolf shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid*. Men of fierce, cruel and rugged dispositions shall be subdued, sweetned and reclaimed from their inhumanity and barbarity. The knowledge of God makes Satan's kingdom fall like lightning †. In the primitive times, when the Gospel was propagated over the Gentile world, Dagon did fall before the Ark; the altars, images and superstitions of the heathen, with the whole frame of their idolatry, were demolished. The names of Jupiter, Apollo, Mars, &c. are now wholly buried among those nations who formerly adored them; and the spreading of the Gospel thro' the earth at this day, would be a bleffed mean of purging out the idolatry that remains, and of reclaiming multitudes from their gross abominations. The attempts that have been used fince the reformation from Popery in New England, and in the East Indies, have been crowned with some desirable success. The Papists themselves, as Joseph Acosta, and Bartholomew de las Casas Bishop of Chiapa, who travelled in that work, declare, that the Pagans in Peru, and in the vast dominions possessed by the Spaniards in America, are a people of an easy temper, capable of receiving instruction, had not the barbarous cruelties of the Spaniards, which the last of these authors particularly relates, having been eye-witness to them, filled the poor people with prejudices, and disappointed the good designs of their conversion. Let us therefore use our utmost endeavours to promote this good work, wherever we have access; and look to our gracious God, that, by a mighty effusion of his spirit, and by a day of his power, he may bless the whole with fuccess.

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Thirdly, The conversion of the Heathen Nations would be a special mean to advance the Kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ over the world. Then would his enemies become his footstool *; Then shall the righteous flourish, and abundance of peace be as long as the Moon endureth; he shall have dominion from sea to sea, from the river to the ends of the earth. They that dwell in the wilderness shall bow before him, and his enemies shall lick the dust-Yea, all Kings shall fall down before him, all Nations shall serve him. The Potentates in the East and West Indies, and all the idolatrous and barbarous nations formerly described +, shall submit to him. Then shall our Redeemer go forth with his crown and his bow, conquering and to conquer ||. His enemies shall be clothed with shame, but upon himself shall his crown flourish t. The wilderness shall be a fruitful field **, the defart shall rejoice and blossom as the rose, the glory of Lebanon shall be given to it; they shall see the glory of the Lord, and the excellency of our God—Then the eyes of the blind shall be opened, and the ears of the deaf shall be unstopped; then shall the lame man leap as an bart, and the tongue of the dumb sing; for in the wilderness shall waters break out, and streams in the defart ++. When we in this part of the world are weary of the Gospel, strangers shall with joy receive it, and many shall come from the East and the West, and sit down with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in the Kingdom of God | | |. The dead bones shall then live and stand on their feet, an exceeding great army. This will make all that love our Lord Jesus rejoice, and a bright luftre of religion and piety shall fill the earth. Christianity is not calculated for one nation or country only, but by the great author thereof, is wifely adapted for all mankind. 'Tis the concern even of kings, princes, and the great ones in the earth, to advance our Redeemer's Kingdom; this would make their government flourish, establish their kingdom, entail a bleffing upon their posterity, make the present generation of the righteous Cha

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^{*} Pfalm 110. 1. Pfalm 72. 7—12. + Above, Chap. VII. # Revel. 6. 2.

^{**} Ifa. 32. 15. ++ Ifa. Chap. 35.

[#] Pfalm 132. 18.

righteous to pray for bleffings to them from the throne of grace, and the generation to come shall call them bleffed: yea, thus when their time shall be no more, they shall

fecure for themselves a crown of glory.

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Fourthly, The conversion of the nations, and their subjection to the Kingdom of the Messiab our Saviour, is promifed thro' the whole book of God, as a special New-Testament Blessing. The glorious Jehovah says to our Redeemer, I will give thee as a light to the Gentiles, that thou mayst be my salvation unto the ends of the earth *. The church of the Gentiles that was long barren, shall bave more children than the church of the Jews. For thus saith the Lord, enlarge the place of thy tent, and let them stretch forth the curtains of thy habitations; spare not, lengthen thy cords, and strengthen thy stakes, for thou shalt break forth on the right hand and on the left, and thy feed shall inherit the Gentiles +. To our Shiloh, or promised Messiah, shall the gathering of the people be ||. The Heathen are given to him for his inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for his possession ‡. With many other promises of that kind, of which several are marked at the foot of the page **. Now, tho' many of these promises be already performed, in the conversion of the nations from the time of our Lord's ascending up into heaven, and pouring out of his spirit at the day of Pentecost unto the present time, as in the foregoing history; yet there is a fuller performance of them to be expected before the end of the world; for our Lord himself foretold, This Gospel of the Kingdom shall be preached in all the world for a witness unto all nations, and then shall the end come ++. Tho' this was in part fulfilled by the propagation of the Gospel, by the Apostles and Evangelists over the Roman empire, before the end of the Fewish state by the desolating wars of Vespasian and Titus; yet I see no reason why it may not be extended to

^{**} See Isaiah 11. 10. and 2. 2, 3. Micah 4. 1, 2. Isaiah 19.21. Isaiah 42. 6, 7. chap. 43. 5, 6. chap. 60. 3. chap. 62. 2. chap. 66. 12. Zech. 2. 10, 11. Malachi 1. 11, &c. + Matthew 24. 14.

of the field.

Fiftbly, This duty of converting the nations, of instructing the ignorant, reclaiming the wandering, and bringing home the strangers to be members of the mystical body of Christ, is in a special manner incumbent upon the Pastors of Christ's Church. We are obliged to propagate the saving knowledge of Christ among all men so far as we can, and as orderly called by the very words and main tenor of that commission from which we derive our office: Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature \(\pm\$. Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have

bave to th tion ing cour prefe in of the nobl holy tive ages. who the they stars exer inare Heat as ou are t fo d the terie fend the n whic fairs ble, priva great and

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^{*} Romans 11.25. | Zech. 14.9.

[†] Rev. 11. 15. ‡ Mark 16. 15.

have commanded you; and lo I am with you always even to the end of the world +. Endeavour to make all nations disciples to Christ, baptizing them, and instructing them to believe and obey the Gospel; and to encourage you in this, I give you the promise of my presence and affistance with you, and your successors in office, in the discharge of this work to the end of the world. Ministers of the Gospel have the most noble examples to imitate, of our bleffed Lord, of his holy Apostles, of many apostolic men in the primitive Church, and of many others in the subsequent ages, and even fince the Reformation from Popery, whom we have mentioned in this history; and we have the most excellent arguments to quicken our zeal, for they that turn many to righteousness, shall shine as the stars for ever and ever ||. If our predecessors had not exerted themselves to recover these lands out of the fnare of the Devil, we had been yet in the state of Heathenism; let us do as much for the subsequent ages. as our predecessors have done for us. 'Tis true, none are to run unfent upon the holy ministry, far less upon fo difficult a part of it; but it may be the work of the gravest Convocations of the Clergy, of Presbyteries, Synods, or national Affemblies, regularly to fend proper persons to labour in this work of converting the nations, to encourage them, and notice their fuccess; which would be of greater importance than most affairs that come under our confideration. I am fenfible, that any thing I can offer is but the opinion of a private and unskill'd hand; but fuch Synods have greater authority, can deliberate in what they propose, and fee the fame put in execution: and I wish they may do it to good purpose, and that the Lord may crown the whole with fuccess.

Sixtbly, Not only the Pastors of the Church, but also every Christian in his station, should act with zeal in this matter, to chase the devil out of those large territories he is yet possessed of in Asia, Africa and America, and to make those strangers subject to

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[†] Matthew 28, 19, 20.

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the Kingdom of Christ. The learned and inquisitive Foseph Mede, who writes many things fingular and curious, speaking of the first Gentile inhabitants, and the late Christian Plantations in America, is of opinion, the perhaps, fays he *, I cannot prove it, that those countries were first inhabited since our Saviour and bis Apostles time, there being no signs or footsteps found among them of any older habitations. The devil being impatient of the found of the Gospel of Christ in every part of this old world, and foreseeing, that he was at length like to lose all here, he thought to provide himself a feed, over which he might reign securely; and accordingly drew a colony out of some of those barbarous nations dwelling on the northern ocean, to whom the found of Christ bad not yet come, and promising them by some oracle, to shew them a country far better than their own, which be might soon do, pleasant and large, where never man yet inhabited; be conducted them over these desart lands and islands, which are many in that sea, into America. And here it is to be noted, that the story of the Mexican Kingdom, (which was not founded above 400 years before our people from Europe came thither) relates out of their own memorials and traditions, that their God Vitziliputzli led them, going in an ark before them. But see the hand of divine providence, when the offspring of these runnagates had now replenished that other world, and began to flourish in the Kingdoms of Peru and Mexico, the Lord sends his mastiffs the Spaniards to bunt them out and worry them; which they did in so bideous a manner, as the like was scarce ever done since the sons of Noah came out of the Ark. What an affront is this to Satan, where he had thought to live fecurely, and to have his subjects for ever concealed! Tet the Devil perhaps is less grieved for destroying his servants, than be would be to lose them, by bringing them to the saving knowledge of Christ. I doubt the Spaniards have thus spoiled him of very few. What then, if Christ our Lord will give him this second affront with better Christians? which may be more grievous to him than the former.

^{*} Joseph Mede's Works in 4to. Vol. II. pag. 549, & feq.

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former. This will be a work glorifying to God, and to our bleffed Saviour, to chafe the Devil out of these large territories, where he thought to have reigned securely, and to bring these outcasts cheerfully to submit to the Kingdom of Christ, that at length they

may reign with him in glory.

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The great precepts and examples of our holy Religion should stir us up to zeal in this matter. primitive Christians early discovered their affection to Christ, by bringing others to him. When the Apostle Andrew was called, he finds his brother Simon *, and faith to him, We have found the Messias, which is, being interpreted, the Christ; and be brought bim to Jesus. When Philip was converted, he finds Nathanael, and faid unto him, We + have found him of whom Moses, the Law, and the Prophets did write, Jesus of Nazareth the Son of Joseph. And Nathanael said to bim, Can there any good thing come out of Nazareth? Philip said unto him, Come and see. The woman of Samaria no fooner found the Messias, but she runs and calls the whole city to be partakers of her happiness ||. Christ bids Peter, When thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren ‡. This would be a token of reviving, when the mountain of the house of the Lord shall be exalted above the bills, and all nations shall flow unto it; then many people shall go and say, Come ye, let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the bouse of the God of Jacob, and be will teach us his ways, and we will walk in his paths **. God gives us grace, that we may be as dew from the Lord, and as the showers upon the grass ++, that we may water others. This is the way to obtain increase of grace to our own souls, for the liberal soul shall be made fat, and he that watereth shall be watered again || And this will be had in gracious remembrance by God, as acceptable fervice, and plentifully rewarded ##. Shall the Popish Missionaries compass sea and

^{*} John 1. 40—42. () John 4. 28—30. ** Isaiah 2. 2, 3. () Proverbs 11. 25.

[†] John 1.45, 46. ‡ Luke 22. 32. †† Micah 5. 7. ‡‡ Malachi 3. 16, 17.

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and land to make profelytes, and we Protestants loiter, fit still, and do nothing? Shall finners entice one another to serve the enemy of mankind to their eternal ruin, and shall not we be more zealous to bring perishing fouls to Christ, that they may obtain eternal happiness thro' him? The very Mahometans run about the world to gain profelytes for their beaftly prophet Mahomet, and shall the children of the kingdom only want this defire, this zeal, this endeavour? Impossible! If any fuch be, they are bastards, and not sons. Do we not fee every citizen, every member of any company or fociety, how eagerly they defire, and how forward they are to advance the enlargement and good of the commonwealth or fociety whereof they are members? Who is nobly descended, but desires the good of his house and kindred? What good subject but wisheth the increase of his King's subjects, the amplifying his dominions, and the revenues of his crown? How can we be members of Christ's Kingdom, if we defire not the increase of his subjects? We pray to God daily, Let thy Kingdom come; let that which is our daily prayer be our daily endeavour, or we cannot in fincerity call God our Father, nor expect he will own us as his children. All things in nature defire the propagation of their kind; the fire is no fooner kindled, but it will prefently turn all it lays hold upon into its own nature; 'tis as possible for the fun to want light, and the fire to be without heat, as for the fire of grace to be kindled in their hearts, who endeavour not to enflame others with the fame. I shall also befpeak my reader in the words of the pious and learned Danish Missionaries, who have been frequently mention'd in this and in the former chapter. They fay *, " Christianity fostens the heart to tender inclinations; "'tis of a communicative and overflowing nature, whereas, wicked men are of most narrow and con-"fined spirits, fo contracted by the pinching particu-" larities of earthly and created things, to imprisoned " in a dark dungeon of fenfuality and felfishness, so

^{*} Propagation of the Gospel in the East, Part II. Preface, pag. 6.

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" straitned thro' their carnal designs and ends, that " they cannot stretch themselves beyond the horizon " of time and fense. Truly, a foul that's made par-" taker of this heavenly amplitude, will expose herself " to all hazards and difficulties, to prevent the eter-" nal ruin of others. If Religion makes those who " are rooted in it lay down their lives for their bre-" thren, then without doubt fuch must be strangers to " it, who grudge at a little labour or expence, for "those precious fouls who are in the way to come " over to the bosom of the Church. We see how " eager those of the Romish party are to push on their " defigns up and down the heathen world, from the " East to the West, and the extreme readiness of great " numbers of their clergy, to expose themselves to " all manner of perils by fea and land, for the propa-" gation of the Christian Faith in the infidel world. "And 'tis well known, that some of them have boasted, " when they are maintaining theirs to be the Catholic " Church, that their loss in Europe by what they call " the Northern Herely, has been more than made up " to them by the accession of such vast numbers to " their communion, as within these two last Centuries " have been added to them from among the heathen " nations. I know what the common evalion of " Protestants in relation to the Popish Missionaries, is, "viz. That they do not all upon a good principle, that " they have no other end in what they undertake, than " to promote the interest of their party, which at last " would prove an undermining, rather than advancing " the Gospel of Christ. But as on the one hand I do " not defign at all to justify the conduct of the Romish " Missionaries, their method being generally too slight, " and unbecoming the gravity of a Missionary of " Cbrist; so on the other, I cannot see with what rea-" fon Protestants should act nothing, because they ob-" ferve others act irregularly. Certainly, if the Roman " Missionaries act upon a selfish foundation, Protestants " ought to act upon a more folid one; if they act upon " a partial principle, Protestants ought to act on a

of principle more universal, more favouring of the fpirit of Christ, and more attended with universal " love and benignity. If the method of Roman Ca-" tholics feem too shallow, dead, and superficial to us, " Protestants ought then to carry it higher, to inspire " their converts with the power of Religion, to hir up "the will to a ready compliance with the commands " of God. If these acquiesce in a pompous tho' dead of performance of a ceremonious worship; we ought " then to preach up so much the more an inward and " vital principle, fending forth good works, as for " many free and unconstrained emanations. And in

" fine, do they venture life and limb, compass sea and land to make profelytes to their party, and all "

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"this by the influence of human authority, should not "then Protestants under the gracious influence of God

" himself, carry things considerably beyond what these

" are able to do."

To excite us to zeal in this matter, I shall also use the words of some fermons preached before the Society in England, for propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts. " Shall I tell you, fays the Bishop of Sarum *, what " we have often heard as a national reflection? that none of the foreign Churches have been fo faulty in "this respect as we of this Church and Nation, while "none had greater advantages in well established and of ad-" vantageous trade: let not our plantations have cause " to accuse us, while they are hard at work for us, " and while their products are fo charged, that they " have but a fmall part of the gain that's made by "them, fo that they are too low to contribute this " way; yet those among us, whose dealings with them God has bleffed with the hundred fold even in this " world, are backward in affifting them in their spiri-" tual concerns, when they are beginning to offer to-" ward it themselves, even beyond their strength. Let "those who have a true zeal for the honour of our "Church, contribute to raise her glory, which has 66 been

^{*} Bishop of Sarum's Sermon in the Year 1703.

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been hitherto too little advanced this way, while those who divide from us in New-England, seem to have provoked us to jealously on this account. Let no objections that may be made against the thing, as if the design were hopeless, and must be unsuccessful, shut up any man's hand or heart. Things of this nature must go on slowly, and meet with great obstructions and many difficulties, chiefly at first; but where the work is acceptable to God, a more than ordinary blessing may be well looked for, if we be not wanting on our part.

Another reverend prelate before the fame honourable Society discourses thus *: "If it be considered how wast a tract of ground we have on the continent, and how many islands we possess of lesser note; that fome of them have no ministers at all, that none of them have so many as their occasions call for; it would fright one to think how much is to be done, and how little there is to do it withal.——But

"God, whose glory is so nearly concerned, will not fuffer it to fail for want of supplies. He will dispose the good and generous to turn a part of their cha-

" rity into this Channel. He will inspire its with a tender regard to the spiritual necessities of these poor

" brethren, by whose daily labours, the flourishing condition of this poor kingdom is in so great a mea-

" fure supported. To bring all nations under the do" minion of Christ, in this new discovered world, as

"well as that which formerly engroffed the name, is glorious employment for heroic Christians; 'tis

"glorious employment for heroic Christians; 'tis
a duty incumbent upon them, and 'tis that which
God in his good time will certainly bring to pass."

Another prelate discourses thus †: " How shall they hear without a preacher? How shall they preach except they be sent? And how shall they

be fent, except they be supplied with what is necesfary for their subsistence and encouragement? And

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^{*} Bishop of Litchfield's Sermon, in the Year 1704.
† Bishop of Chichester's Sermon, in 1705.

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" how can our charity be better employed, than to " have the Gentiles made obedient in word and deed? We should add endeavours to our prayers, and do what in us lies, for accomplishing so glorious an " end. Time was, when the inhabitants of this island were as barbarous as the Indians are now. Gentilet carried away unto dumb idols, even as they were e led. And we might have fo continued to this day, " had it not been for the special favour of God, and the industry of these apostolical persons; as St. Paul, who travelled from Jerusalem, and round to Illyricum, to Spain, and even to the British Isles, fully " preaching the Gospel of Christ. And should not we be moved with the like generous compassion, and 66 hearken to those, who with the Macedonian spirit call to us, Come over to the Indies and help us? Shall not we do what in us lies, by fending or being fent among them? by ferving or providing for them that enter upon and offer themselves to this service? that " the eyes of fuch poor wretches may be opened, and " they turned from darkness unto light, and from the

ce power of Satan unto God."

Let us further confider the amazing conduct of devine providence, in propagating and preserving the holy Christian Religion in all ages, not by might, not by force of arms, but by the efficacy of the Gospel accompanied by the spirit of God. This demonstrates our Religion to be divine, and confirms the certainty and truth thereof; fo that the whole history of its propagation, from first to last, deduced in the foregoing effay, is one continued argument of the truth of Chil flianity, with which we began, and now conclude this Who, but the glorious God who made the world out of nothing, could have propagated the doctrine revealed by his own fon, and confirmed by his death and fufferings, all the world over, in spited all the allurements of flesh and blood, and all the powers of hell and earth; and that when other fuper stitions invented by men dwindled into nothing? Who but this God, could have so display'd the beauty of the

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Gospel-Church over all Europe, Asia, Africa and America? And the longer the beauty of this Church shines, the more glorious will it appear; at the evening it shall be light. Now, when we have so many great examples of eminent men in Church and State set before us, who have been active to propagate our Religion in every Century, should not we follow the same? that the conquests of our Redeemer may be extended from the rising of the sun, to the going down of the same; that his name may be great among the Gentiles, and in every place incense may be offered to his name, and a pure offering. That his name may be remembred in all generations; that all the people may praise him, and the whole earth may be filled with his

glory.

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And now to conclude, how momentous arguments have we to ftir us up to act with life and vigour in this matter! All the mighty powers of eternal loving kindness, that love of God which sent his own son into the world, to fave and enlighten our Souls with these heavenly doctrines, all the wonders of mercy, and the triumphs of a dying Redeemer's grace, with an united force, flow into our hearts, and conspire to warm our affections with a heavenly flame, in the cause of our Saviour. The native beauty and simplicity of Gospeltruths, furrounded with all the glories of our Saviour's death and love, attended with all the highest powers of duty, gratitude and generolity, and testified by the loudest applauses of heavenly hosts, can never miss to furnish an endless train, and an inexhaustible force of motives. Can there be a breast in which they'll fail to make an impression? Behold our exalted Lord, looking down from his throne to encourage and enliven us; he is expecting what we will do for his honour, and how our bowels are moved within us; he points out his blood and wounds, which faved us from everlasting death, the cross he endured, and the shame he despised, that he might make us happy; the fcorn of the multitude, the rage and hatred of the learned, the madnels and blindness of the rulers of this world, yea, the Dd 2

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hellish efforts of the infernal host, which could never shake his resolution, nor make him desert our cause: he represents to our view the light and joy of a reconciled God, and the eternal pleasures of heaven; and he makes bare his glorious arm, which pulled us out of hell, and drave back the devouring slames. He looks, after such an amazing and delightful prospect, what returns we will make to him. Ought we not to be influenced by what our Saviour tells us? Whosever shall be ashamed of me and of my words, in this adulterous and sinful generation, of him also shall the Son of man be ashamed, when he cometh in the glory of his Father, with the holy Angels. Whosever shall confess me before men, him will I confess before my Father which is in heaven?

Can we ever act as we are obliged, to promote the glory of our bleffed Lord and Redeemer, who loved us and washed us with his own blood, who purchased our Salvation with his own death and fufferings? Can any momentary hardships we can endure for propagating his name over the world, be compared with what he did and fuffered for us? He supports, encourages, and sympathizes with us under all our labour and toil; he fweetens our way, and prepares for us a crown of glory. Should not zeal for the glory of our God, defire for the falvation of precious and immortal fouls, perifhing under darkness and infidelity, and a pious concern for our Saviour's Kingdom, animate us with a holy warmth in this matter? That there may be one fold and one shepherd; that God, even our God, may bless us and all the ends of the earth may fear him. Amen.

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